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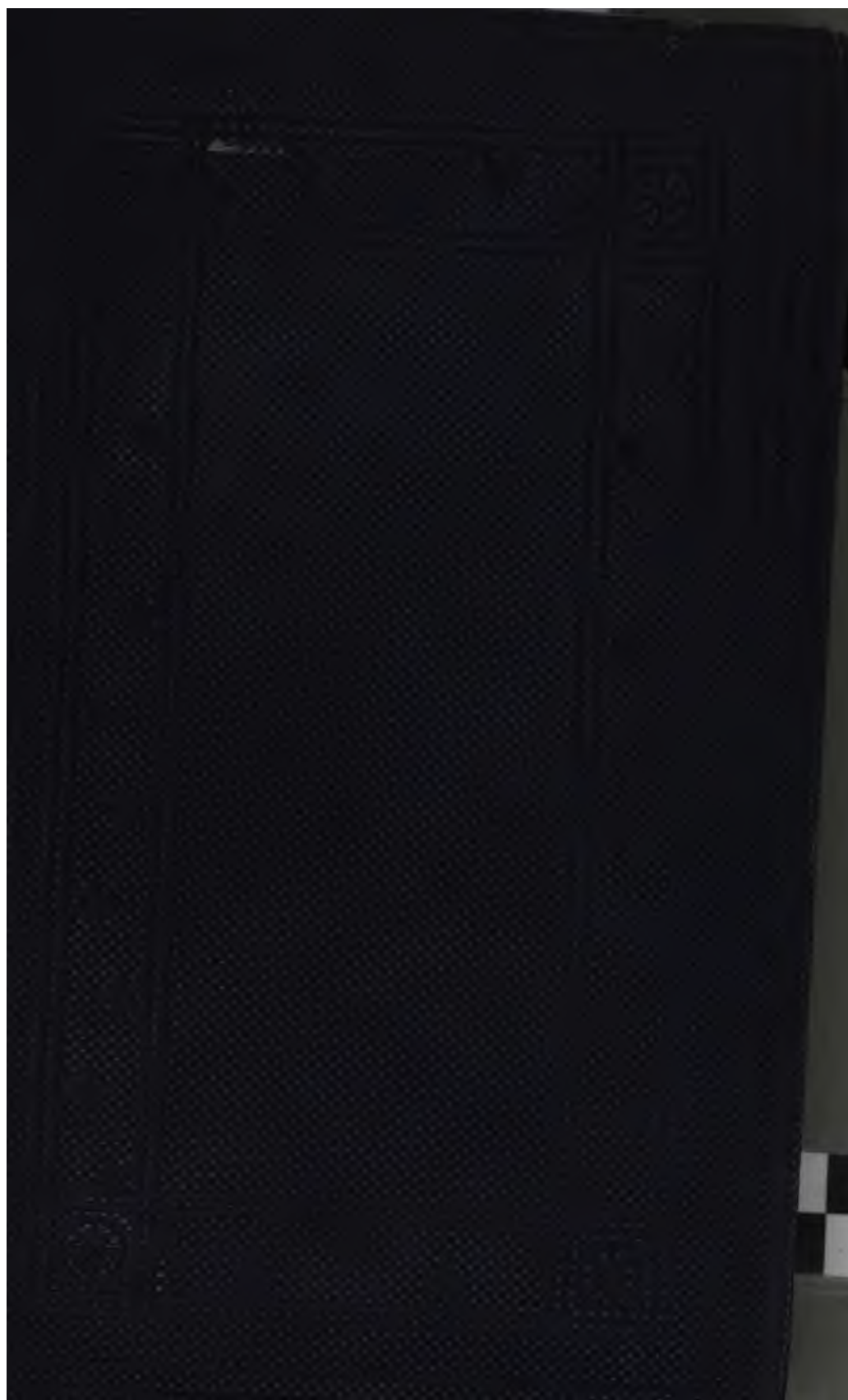
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Engr. by J. G. Kneller

SIR PETER CAREW,

From the Royal Collection at Hampton Court

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
Sir Peter Garrow, Kt.,

(From the Original Manuscript,)

WITH A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND ELUCIDATORY
NOTES,

By JOHN MACLEAN, Esq., F.S.A.,

*Member of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., &c.,
& Keeper of the Records of Her Majesty's Ordnance in the Tower of London.*

HOOPER, JOHN AND KENNEDY AND VEWELL



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TO

W. H. POLE CAREW, OF ANTONY, ESQUIRE,

THIS MEMORIAL

OF HIS DISTINGUISHED ANCESTOR,

SIR PETER CAREW,

IS BY PERMISSION,

DEDICATED.

March, 1857.

P R E F A C E.

WHILE making some researches among the valuable MSS. preserved in the Library of Lambeth Palace, in connexion with a larger work which the Editor of the following pages is preparing for the press, his attention was attracted by a MS. Life of Sir Peter Carew, in the handwriting of John Vowell, alias Hooker, of Exeter.

Of the inner, or home, life of an English gentleman of the era of Sir Peter Carew, but scanty illustrations have been left by contemporary writers. Any document, therefore, of undoubted authenticity, bringing before us the motives and feelings, the passions and prejudices of those days can hardly fail to engage our attention. The subject of this Memoir, moreover, was no common man. A younger son of one of the most eminent families of the kingdom, with a very imperfect education in youth, and, through the mistaken severity of his father, "coupled to a hound," he became a witness of, and actor in,

some of the most remarkable and stirring scenes in the great drama of that age ; and had he lived but a short time longer, he would, in all probability, by his discretion and energy of character, have recovered the princely possessions of his ancestors.

Besides the insight the MS. gives into the manners and customs of the times, it throws considerable light upon several dark passages of History, and seemed to the Editor to possess so much general interest, that he was induced to request the permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury to publish it, and to this His Grace kindly assented.

When nearly ready for the press, however, it was brought under the Editor's notice, that some years ago it had been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Sir Thomas Phillipps, and published in the *Archæologia*. But having collected a great number of valuable Original State Papers, and other documents, which illustrate not only the Memoir itself, but also the history of the period, the Editor, notwithstanding the publication above referred to, ventures to lay the whole before the general reader in a more popular form, in the hope that Papers, in which he has felt so much interest, will meet with the indulgent favour of the public. He has also added copious biographical notices of the principal persons who took

part in the various events, and, to enable the reader the more fully to understand the narrative, and identify the incidents with the general history of Europe, has prefixed a historical summary of the transactions of the period.

It only remains to say a few words respecting the author of the Memoir.

John Hooker was descended from a family of some consideration in the County of Devon. His grandfather, John Hooker, was Mayor of Exeter in 1490, and his father filled the same office in 1529. The latter took as his third wife Agnes, daughter of John Doble, of Woodbridge, in the County of Suffolk, by whom he left two surviving sons, the writer of this narrative, and Roger Hooker, the father of that learned and holy Divine, Mr. Richard Hooker, the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity.

John Hooker was born about the year 1524, and his father dying when he was about ten years of age, he was left in the charge of Dr. Moreman, Vicar of Menheniot, in the County of Cornwall, and afterwards Dean of Exeter,¹ by whom he was carefully educated. He was entered at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, but whether or not he obtained a degree is uncertain, as the registers for that period are very imperfect. Having completed his studies

¹ See note p. 1. 159.

at Oxford, he passed some time in foreign travel, and, on returning to his native city, married Martha, daughter of Robert Tooker of that place, by whom he had issue one son, Robert. He married, secondly, Anstice, daughter of Edward Bridgeman, by whom he had issue three sons, Thomas, Toby, and Zachery. In the year 1555, he was elected Chamberlain of the City of Exeter, being the first person who held that office; and in 1561 was returned as one of the representatives of that city in Parliament.

Hooker was an eminent antiquary and historian, and is well spoken of by Bishop Godwin, in his "*De Præsulibus Angliæ*;" by Camden, in his "*Britannia*;" and by Carew, in his "*Survey of Cornwall*." He was the author of various published works of great merit; among others, of the statutes of Ireland, and the order of keeping a Parliament in Ireland; the *Annals of Ireland*, published in Holinshed's *Chronicles*; and the *Catalogue of the Bishops of Exeter*, continued to his own time. He also wrote a *Synopsis Chorographical, or a Historical Record of the County of Devon*. Prince remarks that "this book was never printed, but goes up and down the country in MS. from hand to hand;" and that upon the author's death, it was put into the hands of Sir John Dodderidge, Justice of the King's Bench, a man eminent for his antiquarian knowledge, to cor-

rect and prepare for the press. Prince adds, that he had "seen a copy thereof in the possession of John Eastchurch, of Wood, Gent., wherein that great lawyer had marked many things which he thought fit to be expunged."

In the possession of the Town Council of Exeter, are two large, thick MS. folio volumes, which contain a vast amount of local antiquarian information, chiefly relating to the Haven of Exe, and the City of Exeter; one is entirely in his own handwriting, and the other partly so. There is also another MS., entitled, "an Abstracte of all the Orders & Ordynances extant, made, enacted, & ordayned by the Maiors & Comon Counsell of the Citie of Excester, for the tyme beinge, for the good government of the saide Citie & Comonwelthe of the same."

It was to the kindness of our author that his more famous nephew was indebted for a better education than his parents could have afforded. He afterwards introduced him to the notice of Bishop Jewell, with whom he had contracted a friendship, and that Prelate, in 1567, procured for the young man a Clerkship in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and granted him a pension to assist in his support; which, with a contribution from his uncle, afforded him a comfortable maintenance. Thus was Hooker the means of giving to the Nation

and Church of England one of the greatest champions of the faith and ornaments of literature.

Mr. Hooker died in November, 1601, and, according to Prince, was buried in the Cathedral of Exeter, "as appeared from a ring with his seal of arms not long since digged out of his grave."

INTRODUCTION.

THE period during which Sir Peter Carew lived is not surpassed in importance and interest by any in English history. During the century preceding his era the nation was convulsed, from one extremity to the other, by the wars of the Roses. Members of the same household ranged themselves under the rival banners; fathers, sons, and brothers, contending against each other in deadly conflict. The natural result was a complete stagnation in the civilization and moral progress of our country. With the accession of King Henry VII, however, the national tranquillity was, in some measure, restored. That politic prince, conscious of the defectiveness of his title to the crown, and constantly harassed by fears of deposition, adopted various expedients for repressing the power of the few ancient nobles who had survived the calamities of the preceding age, and for advancing churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, whom he found more subservient to his will. These measures, in

conjunction with the progress of maritime discovery, and the encouragement given to commerce, produced vast changes in the social condition of the country, terminating, as it were, the epoch known as the Middle Ages, and inaugurating that of modern times.

During the reigns of Henry's successors of the house of Tudor these influences, although subject to occasional checks and interruptions, continued in operation; giving rise to a spirit which has advanced with giant strides, and of which we are still unable to foresee the further development and possible result.

For a long period, previously to the accession of King Henry VIII, Italy had been the centre of all the wars and negotiations of the princes of Europe. Louis XII of France inherited from his grandmother, Valentina, a title to the Duchy of Milan, and, in the year 1499, with the assistance of the pope, Ferdinand, king of Spain, and the Republic of Venice, he expelled Louis Sforza, and obtained possession of it. At this time he was the only great prince holding territories in Italy, and could, consequently, exercise a considerable influence in the affairs of the Peninsula. Not content, however, with this, he determined to attack Naples, to which kingdom he made claim as the representative of the amiable, but feeble, René, the last sovereign of that country of the house of Anjou. Ferdinand of Spain had entered into an arrange-

ment with Frederick, the Neapolitan monarch, for dividing the kingdom between them. Louis resolved to cheat them both, and induced Ferdinand, perfidiously, to abandon Frederick and join him in his own designs, upon the understanding that he should share in the fruits of the conquest. Without the support of Spain Frederick could offer no effectual resistance, and was obliged to submit to the invader. He was carried into France, and was afterwards supported by a pension from the French monarch.

The two kings could not agree, however, as to the division of the spoil, and soon came to blows. The French at first gained some advantages in the contest, but, by the brave conduct of the Spanish general Gonsalvo de Cordova, were finally expelled from the kingdom. Naples was subsequently ceded to Spain in 1504, on Ferdinand's marriage with Germaine de Foix, the niece of Louis XII.

Italy was not destined to enjoy peace for any lengthened period. The Venetians, for a long series of years, had been gradually making encroachments upon all their neighbours. In the year 1509, Pope Julius II persuaded the Emperor Maximilian, and the kings of France and Spain to enter into a league at Cambray, by which they agreed to attack the Republic, and recover the possessions which had been wrested from the Church. Louis of France was the first to take the field, and he utterly defeated the Venetians at

Aguadello. Struck with terror they abandoned the whole continent, and Julius recovered all the towns they held in the Ecclesiastical territories. Had Louis followed up the success he had gained, the Republic must have been ruined ; but, instead of this, he retired to Milan, and very soon afterwards, in consequence of the jealousy which existed between the emperor and himself, the league was dissolved, and Venice preserved.

As the acquisitions of Louis in Italy disturbed that balance of power, of which the necessity was now felt by the sovereigns of Europe, Julius was enabled to establish a new and stronger league for curtailing the French dominions. Henry VIII, who had just ascended the English throne, inherited an overflowing treasury, which the grasping avarice of his father had accumulated. Desirous of protecting the Pope from the danger with which he believed he was threatened from Louis, and burning with youthful ardour for military glory, he was easily induced to join the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Venetians, in his confederacy. The master-stroke, however, of the Pope's policy was winning over the Swiss mercenaries, who were, at that time, considered the best troops in Europe.

In the beginning of the campaign, Henry was persuaded by his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Spain, who affected to take a lively concern in his interests, to land a body of troops at Fontarabia, promising to assist him in the recovery of Guienne,

where, it was supposed, England had still some adherents. An army was accordingly dispatched under the command of the Marquis of Dorset,¹ who soon perceived that Ferdinand's object was the conquest of the little kingdom of Navarre, from which he easily expelled John d'Albret. Dorset, not finding himself supported, returned to England. Although this campaign produced no advantage to England, it had a very prejudicial effect upon France, for the threatening attitude of the English army obliged Louis to withdraw his forces from the South, to protect his own dominions, and consequently he lost that superiority which had signalized the beginning of the Italian campaign. The command of the Italian army was entrusted to the king's nephew, the young Gaston de Foix, who performed prodigies of valour, and revealed a capacity in military tactics which experienced generals might envy. Having relieved Bologna, he defeated the Venetians in the Bressau, killing more than 8000 of them. He afterwards routed the allied army near Ravenna ; but, pursuing too far, fell gloriously at the moment of victory. This event completed the

¹ Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, was the grandson of Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV, and son of Thomas Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby, created Marquis of Dorset 1475. He succeeded his father in 1501, was a distinguished soldier and knight. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Bacton, Co. Kent, and died in 1530, leaving a son, Henry Grey, of whom hereafter.

ruin of the French cause. They lost all their possessions in Italy, except the castle of Milan, and a few unimportant towns, and Maximilian, son of Louis Sforza, was restored by the Swiss to the Duchy of Milan.

In the year 1513, Henry personally undertook another invasion of France. Attended by the Duke of Buckingham, and a great concourse of nobility and gentry, he landed at Calais on the 30th of June, and proceeded into the Netherlands. Here he was quickly joined by the Emperor with some German and Flemish soldiers. Maximilian enlisted under the English standard, wore the Cross of St. George, and received the pay of a hundred crowns a day, as one of Henry's subjects and captains.

Henry immediately laid siege to Terouenne. The French made an attempt to relieve the place, but Henry having received intelligence of their approach, detached some troops across the Lis to oppose them. The French cavalry, although consisting chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in the Italian wars, no sooner discovered the English than they were seized with a most unaccountable panic, and fled with the utmost precipitation. They were pursued by the English, and many of their chief officers were taken prisoners. This battle, in which the French used their spurs more than their swords, has been usually called *the Battle of the Spurs*.

The whole of France now lay at the mercy of the victors, and had Henry followed up the advantage he had gained, by pushing forward into the heart of the kingdom, the most splendid results might have been anticipated. To the infinite satisfaction of the French king, he, however, returned to the seige of Terouenne, which soon fell into his hands, and was rased to the ground. After capturing Tournay, which, upon the payment of a sum of money, was again ceded to France, Henry returned to England in the year 1515.

In the following year Henry concluded a treaty of peace with France and the Republic of Venice, and gave his sister, the beautiful Mary Tudor, then in the seventeenth year of her age, in marriage to the French king, who was in his fifty-third.

Within three months afterwards, 1st January, 1515, Louis died, and was succeeded by Francis of Angoulême, a young man of twenty-one years of age, who had married his eldest daughter.

Francis's first act on ascending the throne was to confirm the treaty of peace with the King of England and the Republic of Venice. Having also entered into a treaty with Charles, king of Spain, who had succeeded his grandfather, Ferdinand, in January 1516, he set out upon an expedition into Italy, where, with the assistance of the Venetians, he soon recovered possession of the Duchy of Milan. This success aroused the jealousy

of Henry, and, coupled with the encouragement afforded to Richard de la Pole,¹ at the French court, and the clandestine support of the Duke of Albany, whom Francis sent into Scotland for the purpose of undermining the influence and authority of Henry's sister, the Queen Dowager, more than once nearly caused a breach between these two powerful sovereigns. Henry, however, abstained from any act of overt hostility, and satisfied himself with secretly supplying the emperor with money to carry on the war.

It will be necessary now briefly to refer to the affairs of Scotland. Henry's eldest sister, Margaret, had, in the year 1503, married James IV, king of Scotland. Notwithstanding this connexion, in consequence of the political friendship which had long subsisted between the courts of Scotland and France, Henry had no sooner set out upon his expedition against the latter kingdom than his brother-in-law crossed the Tweed with a large but undisciplined army, and ravaged the northern part of England. The Earl of Surrey collected a

¹ Richard de la Pole, second son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, sister of King Edward IV. Upon the death of his elder brother, Edmund de la Pole, who, in 1513, was executed to remove him out of the king's way upon the expedition of the latter into France, Richard assumed the title of Duke of Suffolk, and was known as the "White Rose." As the representative of the house of York, he was an object of great jealousy to Henry VIII. He was killed at the battle of Pavia, 1525, see page 12, *note*.

force to oppose him, and on the 9th of September 1513, the battle of Flodden, so fatal to Scotland, was fought. James, and most of his nobles, fell on the field, and Henry had an opportunity, had he chosen to embrace it, of acquiring most important advantages over that kingdom. He showed, however, on this occasion, a mind great, generous, and noble, by immediately complying with the request of his sister (who had been appointed regent to the young King James V), for peace, and behaving towards her with the greatest tenderness and affection in her bereaved and helpless condition.

In the year 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died. Charles, king of Spain, and Francis, of France, were candidates for the vacant throne. Henry also offered himself, but at too late a period to have any prospect of success. Charles was elected, and the jealousy of Francis soon showed itself in a declaration of war.

In the mean while (1520) occurred the celebrated meeting of the French and English monarchs near Calais. The nobles of the two countries, on this occasion, vied with each other in magnificence, and in consequence of their profuse expense, many of them considerably injured their patrimonies. From the splendour of the scene, and lavish expenditure, the place of meeting acquired the name of the Field of Cloth of

X HOSTILITIES BETWEEN FRANCIS AND THE EMPEROR.

Gold. It, however, produced no important political result.

In the year 1521 hostilities commenced between Francis and the Emperor Charles. In Italy the former was defeated by the Imperial army, and, being obliged to abandon Milan, Francis Sforza, was established in the Duchy by the Emperor and the Pope. The French met, also, with serious reverses in Flanders, chiefly owing to the defection of the Constable of Bourbon, who, irritated at some unjust treatment he had received from Francis, raised the standard of revolt, and entered into an alliance with the Emperor and the King of England. They agreed that France should be divided between the two last, and that the Duke of Bourbon, who was to marry the Emperor's sister, should have the Kingdom of Arles.

While Henry caused Picardy to be invaded with an army under the Duke of Suffolk, the Constable of Bourbon repulsed, with great loss, a French army in the Milanese, commanded by Admiral Bonevet, and the French were again expelled from Italy. The Pope, Venetians, and Florentines, were now satisfied with the advantages which had been gained, and being jealous of so powerful and ambitious a sovereign as Charles obtaining a permanent footing in the Peninsula, they endeavoured, but without effect,

to withdraw Henry from the alliance with the emperor.

In the following year (1525), Francis took the command of the army in Italy in person, and sat down before Pavia. The French were attacked in their intrenchments by the Constable of Bourbon, and Lannoy, and suffered a most severe defeat, Francis himself being made prisoner. This fearful calamity was chiefly occasioned by the romantic notions of honour entertained by the French king. He had declared that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt, and although the way was open for his escape, nothing could induce him to quit the place. He performed prodigies of valour, killing seven men with his own hand. His nobles and chief officers, with true devotion, gathered around him, and, defending his life with their own, perished at his feet. The king, wounded in several places and nearly exhausted, was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers, strangers to his person and rank, and enraged at the obstinacy of his defence. In this situation he was discovered by a French gentleman in the service of the Duke of Bourbon, who instantly placed himself by the side of the monarch against whom he had rebelled, and defended him from the attacks of his fierce assailants, at the same time beseeching him to surrender to Bourbon. Francis rejected with indignation this proposal to submit to his rebellious subject, and

calling for Lannoy, who happened to be near, he surrendered his sword to him. Lannoy, kneeling to kiss the king's hand, received it with the most profound respect, and taking his own sword from his side, he presented it to the captive king, saying, "It did not become so great a monarch to remain disarmed in the presence of one of the emperor's subjects."¹

At the siege of Pavia, the subject of our memoir made his first essay in arms; and it must

¹ Russel, writing to King Henry VIII, from Milan on the 13th of March, says: "Th'Emperour's army thought to have come and assayled the Frenche King in his camp in the mornyng betymes, every of them having a white shert upon his harnois; wherof, or y^t wer midnight, He was advertised, Who than removed owt of his camp into the playne filde, and ordayned his battailes the same night; so that, whereas th'Emperour's army thought to have set upon them being incamped, they founde them in araye and good ordre, marching towards them, having wel forty pieces of artillery, which did muche hurt. The Frenche king layeth now fault in his Suyses, for that he hath lost the battail, and sayeth that they did not their part as they shuld hav doon. His launceknights fowght very well against ther owne nation. Richard de la Poole was ther capitaine, who was slayne there, and also few of them scaped. Besides this of 14 hundreth men of armes, wiche He had there, there escaped not past 4 or 500, but wer eyther taken or slayne. Yt is saied here there was slayne in the felde 12 thowsande men, besides divers that wer drowned in the Tyzyn fleing, which be founde dayly, and of greate nomber. There was taken prisoners ten thowsand; and the most part of them wer men of werre, and the other rascall, to whom Mons^r de Bourbon hath given passeportes. And of th'Emperours part there was not lost past 1500 men, or nere there aboutes."—State Papers, vol. vi. page 406.

be confessed that his *début* was most unfortunate. Having, by death, lost, on his way to the field, his only friend, the guns of the enemy soon deprived him of the protector whom chance had raised him up. Desolate and forlorn, though nothing daunted, and with a courage and resolution beyond his years, he walked boldly into the enemies camp, and claimed their protection. The frank and noble bearing of the lad immediately commended him to the notice of the Imperial leaders. Anstis, in his "*l'Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de Carew*," a MS. in the possession of Mr. Pole Carew of Antony, states that Peter Carew was page to the Constable of Bourbon at the sack of Rome; and it appears from Hooker's narrative that (it is presumed after the Constable's death) he was in the service and favour of the Prince of Orange.

The great and unexpected calamity which had befallen the French king rendered it incumbent for Henry to reflect upon his own position, and consider what course, in the altered circumstances, he should pursue. Two lines of conduct appeared open to him. The one was to take advantage of the opportunity offered him, and dismember France by recovering the territories which he claimed as his inheritance. To this no obstacle presented itself. The greater number of the nobles and captains of France were either taken or slain. The country was wholly unprotected, and he had a

large fleet ready with which he could make a descent upon Normandy. To this course, moreover, he was strongly urged by the Duke of Bourbon, who pledged himself to place the crown of France upon his head within a few weeks. On the other hand, he must consider the danger arising from the enormous increase of power the dismemberment of France would place in the hands of the emperor without any counterpoise; and that the prosperity and happiness of England depended upon the equality between the King of France and the emperor. In these circumstances England was always in a condition to become the arbitress of Europe, and make herself courted by both sides.

The subject having been fully deliberated upon in council it was determined that Henry's political interest consisted in supporting France. This concurred with the king's private feelings, for he was desirous of exercising the generosity, and acquiring the glory, of raising France from her fallen state, and setting at liberty her captive king. Further,—and this was of no slight weight,—the course proposed agreed with the inclination of Cardinal Wolsey, who was rejoiced at an opportunity to revenge the slights and disappointments he had received from Charles. Accordingly reasons for breaking with the emperor were soon found, and, on the 30th August, 1525, an alliance was entered into with France. It was not, however, until the

month of March, in the following year, that Francis recovered his liberty, and then only upon giving his two sons as hostages for the fulfilment of very severe stipulations.

Francis was no sooner at liberty than he repudiated the conditions imposed upon him and combined with the Pope (Clement VII), Henry, and the Italian States, in what was called the Holy League, for checking the increasing power of Charles, and compelling him to give up the two young French princes. Francis, under the impression that the knowledge of the existence of this confederacy would induce Charles to abate his pretensions, neglected to send reinforcements, in due time, to his allies in Italy. The Duke of Bourbon, who had obtained possession of the whole of the Milanese, of which throne he had been promised investiture by the emperor, had levied a powerful army in Germany. Not possessing money to pay his troops, he led them to Rome, promising to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed in the attack,¹ and his followers, by whom he was greatly beloved, enraged at his death, entered the city sword in hand, and were guilty of the most abominable atrocities.

It is now necessary we should advert for a short time, to the affairs of the Turks. In consequence of the lamentable dissensions of the Christian

¹ May 6, 1526.

princes that powerful people had conquered Constantinople, and obtained a permanent footing in Europe.

In the year 1520, Soliman I, called the Magnificent, succeeded his father Selim I, and after suppressing an insurrection of the Mamelukes, resolved to carry out his father's design of turning his arms against the Christians. He began by laying seige to Weissenburg, the small garrison of which made a gallant resistance. But one of the towers of the citadel having been blown up by a mine which two Christian deserters had taught the infidels to dig, it was finally obliged to surrender. Elated with this success, Soliman laid siege to Rhodes, belonging to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The wars and jealousies of the Christian powers prevented them from entering into any combination to resist the advances of the haters and terrible oppressors of the holy faith. The knights being reduced to great distress, and seeing no hope of relief, were obliged to yield the place in December 1522. Thus Soliman, in a short time acquired the possession of two places, which were looked upon as the bulwarks of Christendom, and which had baffled the power of Mahomet II, when in the meridian of his glory.

The Turkish ambassadors, sent to Lewis king of Hungary, having returned without either noses or ears, Soliman, to whom the road was open by the occupation of Weissenburg, determined to

penetrate into that kingdom. Lewis, without waiting for the reinforcements on their way to join him, rashly resolved to meet the Turks in battle. The contest took place in the plain of Mohatz ; on the 13th of August, 1526. Lewis was slain, and the Hungarians were completely routed, with a loss of 20,000 out of the 30,000 men whom they brought into the field. Buda opened her gates to the conqueror, but Soliman was soon obliged to relinquish his acquisitions, and return to quell an insurrection in his own dominions.

After the death of Lewis, two candidates appeared for the vacant throne : Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor Charles V, who had married Anne sister of the late king, and John Sepuse, Waywode of Transylvania. The friends and supporters of the latter, finding themselves in a minority, solicited, and obtained, the protection of the Sultan, who returned to Hungary, in the year 1529, at the head of a powerful army. Buda soon fell again into his hands, and after putting John in possession of that city, he marched directly to Vienna. To this city he laid siege, but meeting with an obstinate resistance from the governor, Philip, Count Palatine, he was obliged to raise the siege and retire with precipitation, after suffering a loss of 20,000 men. Three years afterwards he made another attack upon Hungary, but Ferdinand defended himself with great vigour, and the Spanish fleet, sent to cause a diversion, took Patras

and Coron in the Morea, which places, however, they were not able to hold for any length of time.

Soliman next turned his arms against Persia, but met with no great success. On his return he made an attack upon the Venetians, and took several islands in the Archipelago belonging to them. In consequence of a want of support from other Christian powers, they were obliged to make peace, by ceding several places, and consenting to pay a large sum towards the expenses of the war.

The competitors for the crown of Hungary had arranged that John should hold it during his life, with the title of king, and that, after his death, it should revert to Ferdinand. When this event occurred, in 1541, the latter naturally expected to obtain quiet possession, but John's widow sought the assistance of Soliman to secure it for her infant son Stephen (or John) Sepuse. To this Soliman readily assented, and commenced making great preparations at Constantinople. It was at this time, when all Europe was excited by the coming events, that the youthful ardour of Peter Carew, who had some years previously returned to England, could not be restrained, but he must needs visit the scene of action.

The emperor endeavoured to conceal the discord existing between Francis and himself and persuade Soliman that should he invade Hungary, all Christendom would rise to resist him, and, at the same time, tried to bring about the state of

things which he represented as existing, by offering concessions to the French king. Nothing, however, would satisfy the latter but the cession of Milan; which sacrifice the emperor was not disposed to make. The Pope, Paul III, used his utmost exertions to reconcile the difference between them, and induce them to unite their arms against the infidels, but without effect. Francis sent ambassadors to Constantinople to undeceive the Turk, and seek his alliance. On their way through Milan these were assassinated, as Francis represented, by the contrivance of the governor. Other ambassadors were sent with rich presents to the sultan, encouraging him in his design of attacking Ferdinand, and soliciting the assistance of his fleet against the emperor. Soliman readily listened to these flattering proposals of the *Most Christian* king, and invaded Hungary in person.

When Ferdinand found that he was disappointed in his expectation of obtaining undisputed possession of Hungary he sent an expedition against Buda. Whilst before this place his troops were attacked by Soliman with a powerful army, and defeated with a loss of 20,000 men. Upon the pretence of holding the place for the young son of John Sepuse, Soliman greatly strengthened the fortifications. The Christians were equally unsuccessful against Pesth, where they suffered a great loss. In the meanwhile the Infidels obtained possession of Weissenburgh, Strigonia or Gran,

and other places ; but were defeated before **Agria** with great slaughter.

Francis invaded the Imperial territories in several places, but without any great result, and the emperor undertook, with no better success, an expedition against **Algiers**, where the celebrated pirate and Turkish Admiral, **Barbarossa**, had made himself king.

Two years afterwards **Soliman**, at the request of Francis, sent **Barbarossa** with the Turkish fleet to join the French in invading Italy. **Nice** was besieged by their united forces. To the astonishment and scandal of all Christendom the unwonted spectacle was witnessed of the lilies of France and the crescent of Mahomet, in conjunction, before a fortress, from which waved the cross of Savoy. On the 22nd of August, 1543, the town yielded. The castle held out with undaunted resolution, and seven persons, townsmen, who had been found guilty of treasonable practices with the enemy, were hanged on the walls. Hearing of the approach of the Marquis de Guasto, these unnatural allies quarrelled. **Wotton**,¹ writing to **Henry VIII** from Brussels, on the 3rd of October, 1543, says:—
“ Th Emperour hathe receyved letters from the Marquyse del Guasto, that **Barbarossa**, heeringe withe what compenye the Marquyse was comminge towards hym to Nyse, being sore moovidde

¹ Dr. Nicholas Wotton, at that time ambassador with the emperor.

and discontentidde with the Frenchemenne, who hadde borne hym yn hande, that it was not possible that thEmperour by enye meanes shulde succour Nyse, hathe levyed his siege, and hathe caryed withe hym above 2000 Frenchemenne, whome he hathe cawsidde to be enchainidde yn his galeys ; emonge the whiche wer summe gentlemenne, but Monsieur dEnghien¹ escapidde; the rest of the Frenchemenne, having burnidde a parte of the towne ranne awaye, of whom menye ar drownidde yn the ryver of Nyse.”² Francis, therefore, had not the poor consolation of success in return for the infamy of having taken as auxiliaries the deadly enemies of Christianity.

The course of events now calls us again to Scotland. In that country, as in others, disturbances and persecutions had arisen respecting religion. James V, being much addicted to pleasure, and extravagant in his habits, was always in want of money. He had, moreover, several natural sons for whom he was desirous of making provision. He was assailed by both the religious parties ; the reformers urged him to follow the example of his uncle, Henry VIII, and enrich himself by the suppression of the abbeys ; and the nobles, greedy of sharing in the plunder, as their brethren in England had done, added their voices in support of these councils. On the other hand the clergy,

¹ Francis, son of Charles duke of Vendôme.

² State Papers, vol. ix, p. 516.

and those who were attached to the ancient religion, represented to him that, without any violation of justice, by enforcing the existing laws against heretics, he would raise a very large revenue from forfeited estates.

Henry was very uneasy at this state of affairs, being apprehensive that the latter advisers, to whom James was inclined to listen, would lead him to take part with the Pope and Emperor against himself. He therefore sought an interview with his nephew at York ; not doubting that he would possess sufficient influence with him to persuade him as he pleased. James at first promised to attend, but afterwards, at the instigation of Cardinal Beaton, who possessed a great ascendancy, over him, and the other churchmen, he declined to come.

Henry was highly indignant at this slight, and determined to chastise his nephew. He accordingly, as a pretence for war, revived the old claims of England to feudal superiority, and summoned James to do homage for his dominions. At the same time the Duke of Norfolk was directed to approach the borders with a large force. Whilst the latter was waiting at Newcastle to assemble his army, Sir Robert Bowes with about 4000 men crossed into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburg with the intention of pillaging and destroying the town. James had posted a considerable body of troops under the Earl of Huntly,

to defend the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vassals, hastening to join Huntly, fell in with the English army, and a battle immediately ensued. During the engagement the army of Huntly began to appear on the hills, and the English, afraid of being surrounded and cut off, took to flight, when several persons of distinction were made prisoners.

On the 21st of October the main body of the English army under Norfolk entered Scotland. James, with his army, lay at Fala and Suntrey ready to advance as soon as he heard that his kingdom was invaded. The English had crossed the Tweed at Berwick and passed along the banks of the river as far as Kelso, where, hearing that James was ready to attack them with 30,000 men, they again crossed. James, burning with desire to pursue his enemies and carry the war into England, assembled a council of war. But his nobility, either from disaffection to him on account of the preference he had shewn the clergy, or from a conscientious feeling that such a course would be impolitic, objected to his proposal. Exasperated at finding himself thus thwarted, he called them traitors and cowards, and threatened to punish them for their disobedience. Leaving the command of the army to Lord Maxwell, with orders to march against the enemy, he retired to a short distance ready to approach should there be occasion to fight.

The king's anger against his nobles was fostered by Beaton, who induced him a few days afterwards, secretly to issue a commission conferring the command of the army on a private gentleman called Oliver St. Clair, who was the king's favourite. The two armies met on Solway Moss: but just as the Scots were preparing for action, St. Clair's commission was read, at which the nobility were greatly enraged, and the whole army thrown into confusion. Whilst in this state they were charged by a body of English horse, and received a fatal and utter overthrow. But little resistance was made, a great portion were slain, and an exceedingly large number of prisoners, including seven lords and two hundred gentlemen, as well as twenty-four pieces of ordnance, were captured. So great was the number of prisoners that the English had not a sufficient number of men to guard them, and consequently men, women, and boys, were engaged for this purpose.

James was naturally of a melancholy and desponding character; anxious, perplexed, shunning company, and subject to immoderate grief and despair. He was utterly confounded at this catastrophe, and believed that he had been betrayed by his nobles. This had such an effect upon his constitution that he became ill, and his life was in danger. At this time he was informed that his queen had been delivered of a child. He enquired whether it were a male or a female, and being told

the latter, he turned himself in his bed, and with heavy groans bid them farewell, saying: "It will end as it began. As the crown came by a woman it will go by one. Many miseries await this poor kingdom. King Henry will make Scotland his own, either by conquest or marriage." He died five days afterwards, 14th of December, 1542, in the thirty-third year of his age and thirty-second of his reign. A short time previously he had lost his two sons, both in one day, 11th of August, 1540, not without suspicion of foul play.

The young princess who, when five days old, succeeded her father as Queen of Scotland, was the unfortunate Mary. The whole kingdom was in the utmost confusion in consequence of the fatal rout of Solway. Cardinal Beaton produced a will, which was said to be fabricated, constituting himself regent during the young queen's minority. According to the prediction of James, Henry had no sooner heard of the success of his arms, the king's death, and the succession of his infant daughter, than he took measures for securing the crown of Scotland by the marriage of the young queen to his son Edward, Prince of Wales. For this purpose he made overtures to the noblemen who were prisoners in London, and, by bribes and promises of their liberty and his future favour, induced them to accede to his wishes. The Earl of Arran, the next heir to the crown, by his grandmother daughter of James III, was brought

to concur in the king's views, but, in consequence of the intrigues of Beaton, an arrangement, which would have benefited both countries, was frustrated.

A war being now apprehended immediately with England, the Cardinal made application to France for assistance. Francis, however, in consequence of his war with the emperor, was unable to spare troops; but he sent over the Earl of Lennox,¹ a young nobleman of high rank and great influence among the Scottish nobility, who was then resident in the French court. He arrived in Scotland in great splendour, with a magnificent retinue, and, what was of great consequence, well supplied with money. Through his means the French faction in Scotland soon prevailed over the partizans of Henry.

¹ Matthew Stewart, 4th earl, succeeded his father 1526, married the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter and sole heir of Archibald, 6th Earl of Angus, by Margaret, daughter of Henry VII of England, and widow of James IV of Scotland. He was the father of Henry Lord Darnley, Mary's second husband. The Earl of Lennox was in the line of succession to the crown of Scotland, and, therefore, an avowed enemy to the Earl of Arran. Cardinal Beaton, by threatening to espouse this young nobleman's interests in opposition to those of the regent, obtained from the latter many important concessions, and having secured them, treated Lennox with contempt. The earl was very indignant, and immediately appeared in arms, but being very quickly abandoned by his followers, he sought refuge in England, where he was received by Henry with open arms. He afterwards joined Henry in the invasion of his native country.—See page 50.

Great disorders, however, quickly arose between the rival factions ; Beaton was removed from the Regency, and was succeeded by the Earl of Arran, and Henry embraced the opportunity of trying by force to reduce his enemies to reason. He sent a fleet, with a formidable army, to Scotland, which disembarked at Granton, near Edinburgh, and marching to that city destroyed by fire a great part of it, together with Holyrood House and many churches. They then attacked the castle with ordnance, but were so warmly received that they were obliged to withdraw. The garrison sallied after them, when they fled with such precipitation as to leave most of their cannon in the hands of the besieged. Having, on their return, burnt Craig Mullen Castle, several villages, and the town of Leith, they re-embarked at the latter place and returned to England.

The share which Francis took in fostering the factions and intrigues of Scotland, and thwarting Henry's views with respect to that country, induced the latter to listen to the overtures of the Emperor, and join in an alliance with him against France. The reasons alleged for this proceeding, however, were that Francis had captured several English ships and withheld the goods,—that he had not paid the tribute due to England,—that he had fortified Ardres to the prejudice of the English pale, &c., &c.

In the beginning of the year 1543 war was

declared against France by the emperor and the King of England. The former proceeded from Spain into Italy, thence to the Low Countries, where he resolved to chastise the Duke of Cleves, who had entered into an alliance with Francis. He marched into Gelderland and soon obtained possession of all the strong places, and compelled the Duke to submit. On the 7th September he was brought by the Duke of Brunswick, and other great men, before the emperor, where they kneeled down altogether. The Duke of Cleves acknowledged his offences, and all the others solicited his pardon. He was compelled to break off a contract of marriage with a Princess of Navarre, and afterwards (1546) married Mary daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

Henry sent an army of 6000 men, with all the necessary appliances, under the command of Sir John Wallop,¹ Sir Thomas Seymour being second in command and marshal of the field, and associated with them in council were Sir Richard Cromwell, captain of the horse, Sir Robert Bowes, treasurer of the army, Sir John St. John, and, afterwards, Sir George Carew. Sir John Wallop was instructed to join the emperor's army in his country, under the chief commander of which he was to act for 112 days, in driving back the enemy, and, if necessary, pursuing him into France. But

¹ Sir John Wallop's commission is printed in Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 1, and Seymour's in the following page.

in case the enemy should retire within the time prescribed, and the emperor should not pursue in force, the English army was directed to return immediately within the English pale. On the other hand, if the services of the English were required beyond the prescribed time, they were to be provided for, and paid, by the emperor until the king's pleasure should be further known.¹

As Sir Peter Carew served in the campaign of this, and the next, year, we propose to give the details of the proceedings of the army, collected from the State Papers, more in detail than is known ever yet to have been published.

Sir John Wallop left Guisnes about the middle of July, and entered into the district of Fiennais, where he burnt the abbey of Beaulieu, and, the following night, the castle of Fiennes. The next day he despatched a body of 2000 foot and 300 horse, under Sir Thomas Seymour against the castle of Rinquecen, which was immediately taken and destroyed, as was also, on their return, another castle called Arbrittayne,² which was one of the strongest piles in the Boulonnais. He then marched to Lique, burning and destroying the villages as he passed. At this latter place a castle belonging to M. de Biez surrendered, and was destroyed. Thence they marched to Terouenne,

¹ Wallop's instructions may be found in the State Papers, vol. ix. p. 440.

² Perhaps Ardinghem.

the proceedings before which are detailed in the appendix.¹

At the camp, near Bettune, Wallop was joined by many captains and governors of towns, and, among others, by the governor of Arras, who had recently returned from the Great Master of Flanders.² Wallop was desirous of knowing from this gentleman what enterprise the Great Master contemplated against the enemy. He was informed of the probability of his being required, in conjunction with the emperor's army, to besiege a town in Hainault, called Landrecy; where the French king had lodged, and which he had left garrisoned with 3000 men. Wallop was doubtful whether this arrangement would be agreeable to his instructions, considering that as the French king had retired with his army within the period of 112 days after his entry into the emperor's dominions, they ought to follow them and invade France; and should the emperor decline to do this that he should take his leave and return within the English dominions,—Landrecy being within the emperor's territory and not the French king's. He therefore requested the King of England's

¹ Vide Appendix A.

² The Lord Steward was called the Grand, or Great, Master of the Household. At this time the office was filled by Adrian de Croy Count of Rome; Lord of Rome 1524, Count of Rome 1530, Chamberlain to Charles V, Great Master of Flanders, Governor of Flanders and Artois, and Captain-General of the Netherlands 1540. Died 1553.

further instructions. Henry permitted his army to join in this undertaking, but, at the same time, directed Wallop to inform the emperor that a nearer enterprise would better please him.

On the march towards Landrecy Wallop was joined at Arras by the Great Master of Flanders, who reviewed the English troops, and expressed himself much pleased with their appearance. At Hâpre he was met by the Duke of Arscott¹ "with a goodly band of gentlemen mounted upon grate horses." The troops brought by these commanders amounted to 7000 footmen and 2500 horse, making the whole army 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, at the least.

With this force they approached Landrecy and encamped at Bouzies, a mile from the town. Having made a reconnoissance of the place it was found that they could not besiege it without dividing the army; there being a small brook which could not be passed without bridges. This was not thought safe in consequence of the French king lying, with a large army, at Guyse, only four leagues distant. Application was then made to the Queen Regent for further assistance, which she was unable to afford. For greater safety, the camp was removed to Anglefontayne, within a league of Quennoye, and strongly fortified. Here

¹ Phillip de Croy, Count of Porceau 1514–1521, Marquis of Arscott 1521–1533, Duke of Arscott 1533–1549. Died 1549.

as He sayeth He will I will live and dye with youe Englishe men. And by that tyme He was comme to his lodging, where he veraiie graciously bad me fare well. And as soon as He had dyed, He left on horseback, and departed towards Avannes. And, for the xperyence that I had of the goon shooting of the towne I tooke upon me to be one of his conducteurs for his salvegard, and brought Him as farr as Marole, where as the Frenche King lay all the while that Landrecy was a fortifieng. And passing over the water thytherward, an Italyen cam downe on that side of the water frome Fernando de Goonzago his camp, declaring to thEmperour that there was sene not farr frome thence a great companye of Frenche horsmen. Wherupon thEmperour demaunded for avauntcoureurs to dyscouver the contrey, He being il provided for the same: and to be playne with Your Majestie, was used therin by his captayns, chief rulers of his camp, very neglytently. I shewed Hym that I had there with me two hundreth lyght horsses, that should dyscouver the cuntry as sone and as suerly as any Albanoyes, Alarbes, or any other nation. He required me therwith to send them forth. And when He saw them hoorle up the hill so lyghtly, He said, '*Par ma foy, voyla de gens qui vont de grand courraige, et ils semblent trossien les Alarbes d'Affrice,*' And when they were out of sight, He tooke his way towards Avannes. And before He passed the

brydge of Marole, He would not go forthwardes, untill He had sent forth about twentye or thyrtye avant courreures to thother side of the water, owt of the nombre of three hundreth horsses that were there ; who went as hevily as our men went lyghtly, I being aferd the brydge would have soonken under theym. And, or He went over He said, 'Ou sont les gentils hommes de ma maison ?' speaking that veraie soberly twyse or thyrse, as though He would have had theym gladly about Hym ; and so went over the brydge faire and softly, and bad his men of armes comme after Hym. And there the Greate Maistre and I tooke our leave of Hym.'¹

Henry, having studied the map of Landrecy, intimated to Wallop, that he was of opinion the town was not pregnable by assault, without hazard of great loss, and suggested that, considering the French king was so near with so great force, it would be advisable for the emperor to keep his army together. He proposed that "where the ground without was highest, mountes of earth should be made in two several places, and from thence, ordnance should be shot continually into the town, to beat down the houses and scour the streets in such sort as no man should stir within, and also to shoot from the camp, out of mortars continually, such shot as would break of itself, and skater abroad to do hurt in sundry places, by

¹ State Papers, vol. ix. pp. 523, 524.

which means he thinks the town would receive such damage and annoyance that the town would be fain to treat." Wallop conferred with the Imperial commanders upon the king's suggestion, and found that they "both lyketh it marvelously well," and were minded to put it into execution. "As touching mortaires, he says, they have here fyve or six, and moche wild fyre in arrowes to shote into the towne; and one of the saied mortairs is the fairest that ever I saw, made of canon metall, and shoteth the greatest boulet that ever I saw; dyverse of theym made of stone, and thothers artificiall, full of wild fyer, and a fortie or fyftie shot of gones within theym, every one of them able to kill a man. Thexperience thereof hath ben sene within theys thre dayes, and the goones enclosed within theym have ben herd shot after they fell within the towne; and every of theys shots do cost the Emperour 30^u guyldons."¹

Greatly to the annoyance of Wallop, on the 29th of October, the siege of Landrecy was abandoned, and the army moved to new ground, where they fortified themselves in expectation of the approach of the French king. Whilst in this position some skirmishing took place with the advance guard of the French. The latter suffered some loss, both in killed and prisoners. The allied

¹ State Papers, vol. ix. p. 528. Wallop gives a further account of the effect of these mortars in a letter to Paget of the 26th of October.

army, at this time, consisted of 40,000 good footmen and 8000 horse.

On the 2nd of November, the camp was again raised, and the army marched three leagues towards the enemy, the advance guards of each continually skirmishing throughout the day. At night the emperor arrived and passed through the English camp with a "very gentle countenance," saying "Dieu mercy, Je suis tout guari pour combatre les enemies.¹ On the following morning the army again commenced its march towards the French camp. Some severe skirmishing took place throughout the day, which, as the evening approached, became more hot. The French were driven back into the trenches of their own camp, with some loss. The next morning a council of war was held in the presence of the emperor, when three questions were proposed for consideration: 1st. Whether it would be convenient to attack the French king within his fortified camp? 2ndly. Whether it would be convenient to march the army between him and France, so as to intercept his supplies? 3rdly. Whether it would be convenient to dissolve the army, the French king's army remaining still in camp? After every man's opinion had been demanded and heard by the emperor, it was resolved: 1st. That it was not practicable to attack the French king in his camp without danger of

¹ Wallop to King Henry VIII, State Papers, vol. ix. p. 538.

great loss. 2ndly. Considering the strength of the French in horse, it was not possible to stop their supplies out of France, and should the army encamp between the French and France, there would be danger of having their own supplies intercepted. 3rdly. With regard to the third point it was considered that as the emperor had for several days offered battle to the French king in the open field, he might, with honour, dissolve his army. It was determined, however, to remain in the same place that night, and on the following day march in flank of the French, to a village called Soyllan, and there remain the night, or longer, as might seem desirable, upon the proceedings of the enemy.

These arrangements were, however, unnecessary. On Sunday, Francis secretly raised his camp and marched hastily towards his own country, which movement was not known until in the morning the English outposts gave the alarm. Pursuit was instantly given by the horse with great speed six or seven leagues into France; the emperor being on horseback with them, and the footmen following in order of battle. Some stragglers were laid hold of, and some stores and baggage captured. The chase led into a wood with a narrow passage through it, which stopped the great bulk of the pursuers for some time, whilst the leaders came up with the French rear, in ambuscade, when a sharp skirmish ensued, in

which Sir George Carew, Sir Thomas Palmer,¹ and some other English gentlemen, being foremost, were made prisoners. Before the allies could pass through the wood the French had got out of reach of danger, and evening now drawing on the allied army returned, and encamped for the night on the ground lately occupied by their enemies. On the 9th of November, the army broke up for winter quarters, and the English returned to Calais.

The further proceedings which occurred in Scotland during the interim before the opening of the next campaign aggravated, in a still greater degree, the anger of King Henry VIII against the King of France. It was therefore determined by the allies to carry on the war most vigorously; and nothing less than the conquest of the whole kingdom of France was concerted between them. It was arranged that Henry should set out from Calais, and Charles from the Low Countries, each with an army of 40,000 men, and, leaving all provincial towns behind them, march direct upon Paris.

It was at first proposed that the two sovereigns should each command his army in person; but Henry suggested that they should rather send about 30,000 men each under lieutenants, and remain themselves on the frontier to be ready for any emergency which might arise. Charles would

¹ Sir Thomas Palmer, Porter of Calais, 1540-1541, Treasurer of Guisnes, 1543, Captain of the "old man" Boulogne, 1545.

not agree to this proposition, but determined to lead his army in person, at the same time endeavouring to dissuade Henry from doing so.

In the beginning of June, an army of 30,000 men was ready to take the field, and crossed over to Calais, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk, as captain of the vanguard and lieutenant-general until the arrival of the king. The rear-guard was led by John, Lord Russell, lately made Lord Privy Seal. The army was accompanied by a great number of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen. Norfolk landed at Calais on the 9th of June, and, immediately, by the king's command, proceeded to the investment of Montreuil.

Having appointed the Queen¹ Regent in his absence, Henry passed over to Calais with great magnificence; the vessel which carried him across the Channel being furnished with sails of cloth of gold, and arrived there on the 14th of July. He immediately sent an army under the duke of Suffolk, to which Peter Carew was attached, to lay siege to Boulogne. This siege the king superintended in person.

Francis, justly alarmed at the danger which menaced him, was desirous of obtaining conditions of peace. He accordingly opened the way by communications through a gentleman who had formerly been governor of Boulogne. Finding Henry not ill disposed, towards the end of July he addressed him

¹ Catherine Parr, whom he married on 12th July, 1543.

a letter, expressing his desire, and offering to make him an arbitrator in the differences between the emperor and himself. Henry received these proposals with favour, and immediately submitted them, through his ambassador, for the consideration of the emperor, who, however, appeared to meet them in another spirit. Having read the letter of the King of France, he smiled and said "such dissimulations and fayre flattering wordes dothe he ever use when he goeth about to deceyve menne."¹ But whatever the dissimulation of Francis might have been it certainly was not greater than that of the speaker. In communications with Henry, he affected to demand from the King of France the most humiliating conditions; and duped the former so far as to lead him to carry on negotiations upon the basis of propositions which it was never probable Francis would accept, and which were contrary to the stipulations of the alliance. In the meantime, he secretly entered into communication with Francis, and finally concluded a treaty of peace with him at Cressy, on the 19th of September, in which the King of England was not included.

These negotiations, however, caused no intermission in the sieges of Montreuil and Boulogne. The battery opened on the latter place with great vigour on the 3rd of August. On the following day the wall was partially breached, and the loops

¹ Nicholas Wotton, ambassador with the emperor, to King Henry VIII. State Papers, vol. x. p. 34.

of the defences were so well commanded by the artillery, that none dared to look out. At this time Hardelow, Frank, Hubersent, and three or four other castles, had been taken, and Boulogne surrendered on the 14th of September.

The siege of Montreuil was not so successful. The army was considerably straitened for want of forage, and being threatened on one side by the Dauphin, and on the other by Monsieur de Bicz, by the king's command the siege was raised about the end of September, and the army directed to march to Boulogne. As, however, the French army lay between them and that town, they retired to Calais, at which proceeding, the king, who, in the mean while, had returned to England, was much displeased.

Thus ended the campaign of 1544, which, at its commencement, bore such a threatening appearance to the welfare of France. But the jealousies and mutual want of faith in the allied sovereigns saved that country from imminent peril. Had they, instead of delaying to undertake the sieges of unimportant towns, pushed on towards Paris, as they had originally agreed to do, and there joined their forces, they might, without difficulty, have penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, and acquired most important advantages, if they had not entirely overthrown the French monarchy.

In the month of October a fleet was fitted out,

under the command of Sir Thomas Seymour, for the protection of the Channel and the English coasts. It sailed from the mouth of the Orwell, near Harwich, on the 3rd of November, and proceeded to Dover. On the 6th, in consequence of a strong wind, it was obliged to leave that place and proceed to the coast of France. At that time, seventeen ships of the French fleet lay at Dieppe, and the same number in the mouth of the Seine. Seymour's object was to sail along the French coast, in the hope of coming to an engagement with some of these ships, or, at all events, falling in with some fishing vessels. Such a violent storm, however, arose, that for the safety of the fleet, the English were obliged to put to sea, and with difficulty, on the night of the following day, some of the ships reached the Isle of Wight, having had all their boats carried away by the tempest. One ship was wrecked on the isle, and 259 persons out of 300, were drowned. Sir Henry Seymour, the admiral's brother, stood out to sea, but, on the next day, his ship was driven on a rock at Dartmouth and went to pieces. Seymour incurred the king's displeasure, because he had not effected more; but he urged that he had done his best in the difficulties which beset him, and had only failed in consequence of the weather, which he quaintly begged might be blamed and himself excused.

During the autumn and winter negotiations

were being carried on with a view to peace, but without success. In the spring hostilities recommenced at an early period. In the beginning of the year the Marshal de Biez, with 14,000 men, encamped on a little creek, about half a mile from Boulogne, with the intention of erecting a fort, which would command the harbour. The Earl of Hertford, however, who was then governor of the town, made a sortie, and compelled him to retire.

Francis also fitted out a very large fleet, with which he hoped to command the Channel and blockade Boulogne and Calais, which being also closely invested on the land side, he expected soon to reduce. Meanwhile Henry was not idle, an English fleet was prepared and sent to sea, under the command of the Viscount Lisle, Lord High Admiral. About the middle of July the French fleet, under M. de Annebault, admiral of France, sailed from Havre de Grâce, and coasting along the English shores arrived at the Isle of Wight. The English fleet went out to meet it, and a well contested struggle ensued until night parted the combatants. The English fleet returned to Portsmouth, where the ships were laid up in harbour, when the French again made their appearance, and the English being unprepared to offer any effectual resistance, they landed on the Isle of Wight in three places and burnt some villages. They even contemplated taking permanent possession of the island, but, upon consideration, this was deemed

impracticable. Having landed on the coast of Sussex, from whence they were beaten off after committing some damage, they returned to Boulogne. The king, who was greatly chafed at being thus bearded, hastened to Portsmouth personally to forward the sailing of the fleet. All being ready, and at the same time the French fleet appearing in sight, the order was given to sail, when the "Mary Rose," one of the finest ships in the English navy, in swinging round, heeled over and sunk in the king's presence. Singularly enough an accident of a similar nature occurred at Havre de Grâce, on the sailing of the French fleet, the largest ship being burnt within the view of the King of France.

This accident delayed the expedition, but about the middle of August the fleet, consisting of 104 vessels of all descriptions, sailed from Portsmouth, and immediately fell in with the enemy off the coast of Normandy. A sharp contest took place between the smaller vessels on each side, which lasted two days. On the second night, the fleets came to anchor a little more than a mile apart. The Lord Admiral intended on the following morning to have commenced a general action, and all were looking forward with intense excitement to the event, but when daylight appeared the enemy had vanished; the masts of their ships only could be discerned from the main top. They returned to their own harbours and were seen no

more. Thus ended one of the greatest naval efforts France has ever made.

On the 3rd of September, the Lord Admiral attacked and burnt the town of Treport, with eighteen or twenty sail of shipping in the harbour, and returned again to Portsmouth. Shortly afterwards the plague broke out with great virulence in the English navy. On the day after the attack on Treport, there were found upon muster 12,000 men; on the 13th, the number had been reduced to 8,488 whole and able men, so that within the interval of ten days 3,512 were dead and dismissed. The ship commanded by Sir Peter Carew was one of those that suffered most.

The chief object of the King of France, during this season, was, however, the recovery of Boulogne. For this purpose, early in June, he sent large reinforcements to Marshal de Biez, with orders for him to complete the fort, which, earlier in the year, he had been compelled to leave unfinished. This army consisted of 40,000 men, beside 1,200 Lanzknechts, who had been raised in Germany. Some severe skirmishes occurred, in one of which the Duke d'Aumale, afterwards the Duke of Guise, was wounded by a lance in the head; the weapon, entering at the corner of the eye, came out at the back of the head. This terrible wound was, of course, considered mortal, but through the great skill of one of the royal surgeons, he recovered.

The campaign on the part of the French was eminently unsuccessful, and on the 7th of June, in the following year, a treaty of peace was concluded, in which it was agreed that Henry should retain peaceable possession of the town and harbour of Boulogne, unless within eight years it were redeemed by the payment of 600,000 livres.

In the year 1547, both Henry and Francis died, and Charles had no further check in pursuing his ambitious designs in Italy.

King Edward VI succeeded his father on the 28th of January, 1547, at the age of 9 years. His maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, was appointed Protector, and soon afterwards created Duke of Somerset. Henry VIII, before his death, had strictly enjoined his executors, and the Lords of the Council, to use every endeavour to bring into effect the marriage of Edward with the young Queen of Scotland, which had been agreed upon between Henry and the Regent and Parliament of Scotland, but broken off through the intrigues of the King of France. As soon, therefore, as the Duke of Somerset was settled in his high office, he wrote a friendly letter to the Scottish nobility, reminding them of the treaty they had entered into and confirmed by their oaths, and urging them, for the sake of the happiness and welfare of both nations, to accept the alliance.

Having failed in persuasion the protector began to threaten and make preparations for war. An

army of invasion was prepared under the chief command of Somerset himself, with the Viscount Lisle, now Earl of Warwick, as lieutenant-general; whilst a fleet was sent forth under Edward Lord Clinton. The army encamped on the borders of Scotland, the fleet lying off at sea. In this threatening attitude another attempt was made to induce the Scots to consent, by offers not only of peace and amity, but of great rewards to all who would favour the marriage.

In the mean while the Regent of Scotland had not been idle. He no sooner heard of the assembly of the English army at Berwick than he issued a proclamation calling upon the nobility and gentry, with their dependents, to march in person to defend their country. The proclamation was instantly and cordially responded to. Even the distant Highland and Island chiefs raised the fiery cross and, with their followers, hastened to join the royal standard at Edinburgh. In less than three weeks Arran had an army of 40,000 men assembled at Musselburgh and furnished with provisions for a month.

In the beginning of September Somerset entered Scotland and advanced to meet the Scottish army. The enemy's horse were soon found hovering about the English, and several sharp skirmishes ensued. When the English general discovered the superiority of the Scots in number he was desirous of retiring, but was urged by his generals

to refrain from an act which would then have been disgrace and ruin. With some degree of irresolution he encamped on an elevated ground, near Pinkey, with the river Esk in front and the English fleet lying in Musselburgh Bay, close at hand. The Scots, over confident in their strength, and believing the English would fly to their ships as soon as they were attacked, advanced in three bodies, armed with pikes eighteen feet in length; but before the infantry of the two armies came into collision, Lord Grey, who commanded the English cavalry, witnessing some disorder among a body of Irish auxiliaries whom the Duke of Argyle had brought into the field, made a charge. The ground was difficult and the Scots made a gallant resistance, so that the English horse were thrown into confusion and driven off the field. Somerset, assisted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence and success in rallying the cavalry; meanwhile the Earl of Warwick, with great judgment and courage, restored the vanguard of the army, which had been thrown into confusion by the retreating cavalry, and led them to the attack. The Scots, at once exposed to clouds of arrows, a galling fire from the English artillery on the heights, as well from the fleet, were compelled to change their ground; but this manœuvre being mistaken, the army was thrown into confusion. Being at that moment charged by the English horse with great

impetuosity, they gave way, and the rout became universal and irretrievable.

The English cavalry, burning to revenge the disgrace they had received, pursued the defeated foe with inexorable cruelty, so that the whole way between the field and Edinburgh, a distance of five miles, was strewn with the arms and bodies of the slain. On that day, upwards of 10,000 of the Scots fell, a great portion of whom comprised the flower of the nobility and gentry. The English lost not more than 600 men ; among the slain was Lord Grey's eldest son.

This victory, although so complete, did not prove of any real advantage to the English cause. Had Somerset followed up his success with judgment and moderation he might have attained the most important results ; but, instead of this, the course he pursued frustrated his object. After a few days employed in collecting the spoil, the English took the castles of Hume, Dunglass, Eyemouth, Fastcastle, and Roxborough, and devastated the country round about ; after which they recrossed the border. Meanwhile, the fleet sought out and destroyed all the shipping along the coast, took Boughty Castle, on the Firth of Forth, and placed a strong garrison in it, who crossed over to Fife, and spoiled a great part of that country with fire and sword.

About the same time the Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton entered Scotland by the West

Marshes, at the head of 5000 men, and having ravaged that district, returned to England.

These excesses had precisely the contrary effect to what was desired. Instead of the Scots being more inclined to amity, their passions were aroused against those from whom they had experienced such great injuries, and they turned to their ancient and firm ally, the King of France, for assistance in the hour of need.

Arran's first step, after the fatal overthrow at Pinkey, was to remove the young queen for greater safety from Stirling to Dumbarton Castle.

Henry II of France was at this time at peace with England; and Mary of Guise, the queen-mother, represented that without some personal interest in the quarrel, it could scarcely be expected that he would render that assistance which the exigencies of the country required. The Scottish nobles, swayed by passion more than reason, adopted the queen's views, and resolved to purchase the assistance of the French king by sacrificing their infant sovereign, and the independence of their country. A proposition was accordingly made to France to give the young queen in marriage to the dauphin, and, what was still more, to send her immediately to be educated at the French court. Henry gladly accepted these advantageous offers, and immediately set about the preparation of an expedition for securing his newly acquired kingdom.

It was not that the Scots did not see the advantages of a match with England, but the arbitrary and offensive manner in which it was originally pressed upon them at a period of great national perplexity, aroused their jealousy and caused them to resist. Again, the violent changes which were effected in matters of religion, rendered the queen-dowager and clergy indisposed to listen to overtures which would have separated Scotland, as it were, from Christendom. Nevertheless, had Somerset, instead of flying to arms and endeavouring to win a bride for his young king by the sword, waited patiently for a while, it is not improbable that the result would have been different. Many of the nobles were well affected to the alliance, and even Huntly pleasantly said, that he disliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing.

In the beginning of 1548, the French king sent a body of 10,000 men into Scotland under the command of Dessié, which roused the drooping spirits of the Scots. Some vigorous assaults were made upon the castles held by the English, several of which were recovered ; but the Scots at length becoming jealous of the designs of their allies, neglected to support them, so that there was not a great deal accomplished. The diversion, however, caused by these proceedings in the north, enabled Henry to prosecute a war in the English territories in France with some success.

In the meantime, while negotiations with France proceeded relative to the queen's marriage with the dauphin, but not without opposition from some of the most independent of the Scottish nobles, who were reluctant to see their country reduced to an appanage of the crown of France, the influence of the queen-mother and the clergy, aided by a considerable distribution of French gold, at last prevailed, and the infant queen was conveyed to France, where she was soon afterwards betrothed to the dauphin.

After a vain endeavour to form an alliance with the emperor, who refused to enter into a close confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connexion with the Church of Rome, in the year 1550 a treaty of peace was entered into with France, in which Scotland was included, and a short time afterwards an agreement was formed for a marriage between Edward and the Princess Elizabeth of France, but the arrangement was never carried into effect.

The dissensions on account of religion, which at this time unhappily afflicted the country, must now for a brief space claim our notice. During the life of Henry, his strong authority, and the influence which his reputed learning gave him, had been sufficient to restrain any violent innovation upon the ancient religion. But no sooner had death removed him from the scene than the more ardent and enthusiastic among the Reformers

indulged hopes of more extensive changes, and a closer assimilation of the English Church to the Protestant communities on the continent. Although many of these were, doubtless, most sincere and single-hearted in their aspirations, there were not wanting those among the nobles and parasites of the court, who, hoping to profit by the spoliation of the secular as they had already done by that of the regular clergy, strongly seconded their views. They were, moreover, encouraged in their expectations by the belief that the Protector Somerset had always been a secret partizan, and that now the restraint upon him was removed he would openly adopt their principles.

The baneful effects of the dissolution of the monasteries had been most severely felt, for whatever abuses existed in those institutions, and they were not few, it is undeniable that they had been great blessings to the poor and the destitute. To them the monks were always ready to afford shelter and relief in sickness or distress, and the indigent were now driven to frightful extremities throughout the country ; much the same as would now occur were the workhouse and poor laws to be abolished. The monks, moreover, were most kind and considerate landlords, and, always residing at their monasteries, they spent their money among their tenants. But no sooner were the rapacious hands of the nobles laid upon the property of the Church than far higher rents were exacted ; commons,

which had been free to all, enclosed ; and the farmers could find no markets for their produce.

Hitherto, among the poor and illiterate, the Reformation had been only felt in these respects. To the great body of the people it mattered little whether the Pope or the King were called the supreme head of the Church ; but when to the causes of discontent above adverted to, which had been suffered with much impatience, were added innovations in the outward form and ceremonial of religion, in those practices and observances which were most hallowed in the sight of the lower orders, and in which indeed it may be said their religion chiefly consisted, they were easily incited by the Popish party to offer resistance to the progress of reform.

The Protector had no sooner returned from Scotland than injunctions were issued for removing images out of churches, prohibiting the use of candles on Candlemas day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and palms on Palm Sunday, for restraining prayers for the dead, and other pious customs which had been hallowed by long observance ; and commissioners were dispatched into all parts of the kingdom to see that these injunctions were duly executed. Several of the bishops objected to these proceedings, or thought that at least such changes had better be deferred until the king became of age ; for, although they were ready to admit the supremacy of the *king* in matters of religion, they

could not recognize it, during his minority, in a *council*. Hereupon a Parliament was held, in which, after much opposition, as well from Protestants as Papists, several colleges, chantries,¹ and free chapels, as well as fraternities and guilds, were abolished, and their lands and goods confiscated to the king; which, being sold at very small prices, enriched many of the Protestant hangers-on of the Court, and strengthened their resolution to maintain these changes.

These violent and hasty proceedings endangered not only the peace but the safety of the country. The first disturbances arose in the county of Cornwall, where one Mr. Body, a commissioner, was stabbed in the back whilst pulling down images in a church.² Thence they quickly spread into the counties of Devon, Wilts, Somerset, Hants, Sussex, Kent, Essex, Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Leicester, Oxford, Norfolk, and York.

In some of these counties great commotions took place, but Lord Grey of Wilton, being sent into Oxfordshire with 1500 horse, and being joined

¹ These foundations were possessed of great wealth, and formed the last remnant of that vast mass of property which was torn from the Church. The chantries were founded for the purpose of saying masses for the dead, and were generally annexed to churches. We are told that there were not fewer than forty-seven within St. Paul's cathedral, each of which had a separate, and generally a landed, estate.

² Hayward's Life of Edward VI.

by many of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county, the insurrection was soon subdued.

In Devonshire, the disaffection assumed a more serious aspect. The Carews, whose protestantism could be depended upon, and who were known to possess great influence in the county, were sent to suppress the seditious and riotous assemblages. Lord Russel soon followed them, but the rebellion had attained such a head that he feared to attack the malcontents, and remained quietly at Honiton, whilst the insurgents, conscious of the cause of his inaction, acquired greater confidence, and increased daily until they numbered 10,000 able men, conducted by Humphry Arundel,¹ a gentleman of good family and of some military reputation. They then laid siege to Exeter, but the citizens remained faithful, and shutting the gates refused to hold any communication with them. Some attempts were made to scale the walls, which being repulsed the rebels endeavoured to gain admittance by

¹ Strype says: The heads and captains of the rebellion in the west were, some few of them, gentlemen inflamed with an ignorant zeal for the old religion, but most of them the dregs of the people, and not a few of them priests. But these, or most of them, when their herds, by the valour and conduct of Lord Russel were routed, suffered the pains of death. Their names were Arundel, Pomeroy, Coffin, Winslade, Rosogan, Holmes, Bury, Underhil, Soleman, Segar, Boyer, Lee, two Mayors, Pain, Maunder, Ashridge, Thompson, Baret, Bocham, Wolcock, Alsa, Morton, Welsh, Barrow, Benet, which last-recited nine were priests.—Strype's Memorial, vol. ii. p. 281.

burning the gates. The citizens by adding more wood to the fires kept the enemy back until they had raised defences within. After this the insurgents sought to effect a breach by mining the walls. Having completed their mine, laid their powder and rammed the mouth, the citizens made a countermine, which they filled with water, so that the powder, when attempted to be fired would not explode.

Lord Russel at length attempted to relieve the city, but the rebels cut down trees and laid them in his way, so that he could not approach, and after burning some villages he determined on returning to Honiton. He now found that his retreat had been cut off, for the rebels had taken possession of Feningham Bridge, behind which in a large meadow they were drawn up. Russel made an unsuccessful attempt to force the bridge, but, at last, finding the river fordable, he was enabled to cross with a small body of horse, which the rebels, who defended the bridge, seeing, they retreated to the main body. The king's forces now charged them in the meadow, and, notwithstanding their inferiority in numbers, routed them with a loss of 600 men.

In the mean time, the city of Exeter was reduced to a state of great distress. The inhabitants were obliged to make bread of the coarsest bran moulded in cloths, as it would not otherwise hold together. Their flesh was that of their own

horses. For twelve days they endured the uttermost famine. Lord Russel could render no assistance, and was about to return to London, but, at this crisis, succours arrived under Lord Grey amounting to about 1000 men. The royal army was now in a position to attack the rebels and marched from Honiton towards Exeter, but found the road blocked and defended by two earthworks, which were supported with no little skill. After a sharp contest these works were taken and the rebels defeated with a loss of 900 men.

Notwithstanding this discouragement 2000 men intercepted the king's troops the next day in the high way, but immediately retreated. The same night they raised the siege of Exeter,¹ and soon afterwards the remainder were utterly routed on Clifton Heath, and the greater part either killed or made prisoners.

It is too frequently the case that insurrections of this kind provoke deplorable cruelties. The present occasion was no exception. Sir Anthony Kingston, provost-marshal of the king's army, was most inhuman in his executions. One

¹ In one of Hooker's MS. volumes, in the possession of the Town Council of Exeter, under the date of 1549, is this entry: "In the last quarter of this mayers mayrolty was the commocions yn Devon and this (citie) beseged by the Commons of the Counties of Devon and Cornwall. The seig began the laste of June 1549 and contynued untill the 6 August then following."

instance may be mentioned. Nicholas Boyer, mayor of Bodmin, had been observed among the rebels; but, like many others, accompanied them by absolute constraint. The provost wrote to him announcing his intention of dining with him on a certain day. The mayor felt highly honoured at such a mark of condescension, and made great preparations to receive his guest with becoming hospitality. A little before dinner, the provost took him aside and whispered in his ear that execution must that day be done in the town, and desired that a gallows might be erected by the time that dinner was ended. The mayor complied with the request, and when dinner was over, the provost asked if the work were completed, and received the reply that all was ready. "I pray you," said the provost, "bring me to the place," and therewith took him friendly by the hand. On seeing the gallows, he asked the mayor whether he thought them strong enough. "Yes," said the mayor, "doubtless they are." "Well, then," replied the provost, "get up speedily, for they are prepared for you." "I hope," answered the mayor, "you mean not as you speak." "In faith," said the provost, "there is no remedy, for you have been a busy rebel."¹ And so, without trial or defence, he was hung before his own door by the man who had just dined at his table.

¹ Hayward's Life of Edward.

Several other instances of a similar nature are related.¹

The insurrection in Norfolk became still more alarming. The rebels amounted to 20,000 men, whilst it was believed that the city of Norwich secretly, if not ostensibly, was well affected towards them. In addition to the discontent on the subject of religion and the enclosures, there was a strong hostility evinced in this district towards the gentry, the suppression of which order, the rebels

¹ Strype mentions that "when this rebellion was well allayed it was remembered how the bells in the churches served, by ringing, to summon and call in the disaffected unto their arms. Therefore in September an order was sent down from the Council to the Lord Russel, to execute a work that proved, no doubt highly disgustful to the people: viz. to take away all the bells in Devonshire and Cornwall, leaving one only in each steeple, which was to call the people to church. And this partly to prevent the like insurrection for the future, and partly to help to defray the charges the king had been at among them." Strype prints the letter of the Council, and states that "two gentlemen of those parts Champion and Chichester, assistant perhaps against the rebels, took this opportunity to 'get themselves rewarded, by begging, not the bells, but the bell clappers only. Which was granted them, with the ironwork and furniture thereunto belonging. And no question they made good benefit thereof." We do not find any gentleman of the name of "Champion" mentioned in connexion with this insurrection. Possibly Sir Arthur Champernon and Sir John Chichester are meant. The bells, however, were certainly never removed, and it is not unlikely that the gentlemen referred to solicited and obtained a grant of the clappers for the express purpose of keeping them in their places.—Strype's Memorial, vol. ii. pp. 270, 271.

demanded. One Kets, a tanner,¹ assumed a sort of governorship over them, and erected a tribunal under an oak on Mousehold hill, which they called the "Oak of Reformation." He here affected some sort of regularity, having appointed a chaplain, who said morning and evening prayers, and preached long sermons. At this tribunal, complaints were exhibited, and mandates issued, under which many innocent persons were torn from their homes, cast into prison, and otherwise cruelly treated. Kets also had the audacity to issue warrants in the king's name, for the issue of Ordnance and munitions of war, out of his majesty's stores. The Lord Protector, who courted popularity, was reluctant to take severe measures against the insurgents, and endeavoured to appease them by concessions; but, as is always the case in such circumstances, a compliance with one demand only entailed another.

At length, the Marquis of Northampton, accompanied by Lord Sheffield, Lord Wentworth, and many knights and gentlemen, was sent with 1,500 horse, to subdue the insurrection. He

¹ Strype says that "this man though said to be a tanner was wealthy and well landed for I find these several manors belonged to him and forfeited to the king; viz., the manor of Melior's-hall, the manors of Lether's-hall and Gunvil's manor, in the county of Norfolk, which in King Edward's Book of Sales, is said to be parcel of the possessions of Robert Ket, lately attainted of treason.—Strype's Memorial, vol. ii. p. 271.

entered the city of Norwich without opposition ; but, in the night, was furiously assailed by the rebels, and a most intense struggle, lasting three hours, took place. The rebels behaved with a courage and resolution, which, in a better cause, would have done them great honour. Some of them, when so severely wounded as to be scarcely able to hold their weapons, continued to fight, and others, when thrust through with a spear, would run further on it in order to reach their assailants. At length they were beaten back with a loss of 300 men.

On the following morning the attack was renewed in greater strength. The rebels forced their way into the city, and drove out the king's forces with heavy loss. The Lord Sheffield's horse having fallen with him in the *melée*, he pulled off his helmet to show who he was, but a butcher instantly killed him with a club. The Earl of Warwick was now sent against them at the head of a force of 6000 men, destined for the Scottish wars. After some skirmishes, to try the strength and courage of his troops, he attacked the main body which was utterly routed, and chased three miles, with a loss of upwards of 3000 men. Kets was taken and executed at Norwich. His brother shared the same fate, being hung on the steeple of Wymondham Church, whilst nine of his principal followers adorned the boughs of the Oak of Reformation.

Factions and cabals disturbed the country during the remainder of Edward's reign. Thomas Lord Seymour, Lord High Admiral, brother of the Protector, immediately upon the death of Henry VIII, had married his widow Queen Katherine Parr, by which marriage he attained great wealth. It is said that this match provoked the jealousy of the Duchess of Somerset, who was greatly annoyed that the wife of the younger brother should take precedence of the elder, who was the wife of the Lord Protector of England, and she, consequently fomented quarrels between the brothers. However this may be, whilst Somerset was engaged in the expedition to Scotland, the admiral was employed in raising a party against him at home; and even endeavoured to draw from him the affections of the young king. To accomplish the former, he had not much difficulty, as Somerset's love of popularity had induced him to court the lower classes to the neglect of the nobility, who ascribed all the insults they had lately received to his irresolution at the beginning of the disturbances. In the latter also, he was not unsuccessful. The dissensions between the brothers were aggravated by Dudley Earl of Warwick, a man of great subtlety and ability, who ambitiously looked forward to supplanting them both. When the Protector found that the public safety was endangered by his brother's seditious conduct, he was easily prevailed upon by Warwick

to employ the extent of the royal authority against him, deprive him of his office, and commit him to the Tower. He was still, however, very unwilling to proceed to extremities, and made overtures of reconciliation, which the other rejecting, he was brought to trial before the Parliament, and found guilty of high treason, for which he was condemned, and brought to the block.

Warwick, having removed the more enterprising and able of the brothers, determined upon the destruction of the other, and, accordingly, raised a party in the council against him. The Protector had laid himself open to censure by the course he had pursued. Having obtained a patent conferring upon himself regal authority, he not only neglected the advice of the council, and governed every thing by his own imperious will; but too often treated with unseemly contempt, those of the Councillors who differed from him in opinion.¹

The Earl of Warwick, with the faction of the

¹ Among the State Papers are two letters from Sir William Paget to Somerset. In the first, dated the 8th of May, 1549, he remonstrates with him on his angry and snappish conduct towards those of the council who differ from him, or venture to express their own sentiments, and gives him excellent advice. In the second, dated the 7th of July, he expostulates with him at great length on his system of government, pointing out the ill effects and the consequences which would arise, and advising him at the same time as to the course he ought to pursue.

council adhering to him, met at Ely House, and, assuming the functions of the whole body, began to act independently of the Protector, and wrote letters to the nobility and gentry, informing them of the measures they had deemed it necessary to adopt, and requiring their assistance. The Protector, who was then with the king at Hampton Court, hearing of these proceedings, induced Edward, on the 1st of October, to issue a proclamation, calling upon all his loving subjects to repair to that place, to defend him and the Lord Protector. He then hastily removed the king to Windsor, and made preparations for resistance. From the latter place the king wrote to Lord Russel and Sir William Herbert, urging them to hasten in his defence, and stating that the conspirators report that Somerset has sold Boulogne. Somerset, however, soon found that he was deserted by all persons of rank, and accordingly submitted upon the condition that he should receive gentle treatment. He was immediately deprived of all his great offices and sent to the Tower, with instructions to the constable to suffer no one to speak with him, or the other prisoners who were committed at the same time, nor were their servants to be allowed to go abroad. Somerset, however, was soon restored to favour, his fines remitted, and his lands restored.¹ The reconcilia-

¹ He was restored to the council on the 10th of April, 1550.

tion with Warwick was sealed by the marriage between the Lord Lisle, son of that nobleman, and the Lady Jane Seymour, the duke's daughter.

Warwick had now paramount authority in the council, and was acknowledged by all as master. All those who adhered to him in the late struggle for power, received honours and rewards, with the exception of the Earls of Southampton and Arundel, who were both dismissed from the council. The former nobleman was regarded as the leader of the Romanists, and, in the then state of parties, appeared a dangerous rival. He soon died from disappointment and vexation. A council of regency was now formed, consisting not of those who had been appointed under King Henry's will and sanctioned by Parliament, but chiefly composed of persons who had been placed in the council by Somerset, under an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal.

This revolution at first gave great hopes to the Romanists. Warwick was believed to be indifferent on the subject of religion, but the Earls of Southampton and Arundel, the other chief movers, were conscientious and strong supporters of the ancient faith. Warwick, however, knowing that the young king's mind was too deeply imbued with the new doctrines to be easily changed, was not desirous of hazarding his newly acquired authority by any attempts which would bring upon him the opposition of the nobility, whose temporal inte-

rests were bound up with the success of Protestantism. He, therefore, took an early opportunity of intimating his intention of supporting the reformation, and some strong, though ineffectual, measures, were resorted to, to induce the Princess Mary, who was one of the few that remained faithful to the creed in which she had been educated, to abandon the religion of her fathers. At one period she was in imminent danger, but her resolution, and the influence and fear of her cousin, the Emperor Charles V, who interfered in her behalf, deterred the council from proceeding to the last extremity.

The last Earl of Northumberland having died without issue, and his brother, Sir Thomas Percy, having been attainted for the share he took in the rebellion in Yorkshire during the last reign, that ancient title was now extinct, and the vast possessions of the family were in the hands of the king. Warwick obtained the grant of these to himself, with the title of Duke of Northumberland, and his chief friends received similar marks of favour. Pawlet Lord St. John, who in 1549, had been created Earl of Wiltshire, was made Marquis of Winchester; William Lord Herbert of Cardiff, Earl of Pembroke; Henry Grey Marquis of Dorset, Duke of Suffolk; Sir Thomas Darcy Vice Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard, Lord Darcy of Chiche; and many others received the honour of knighthood, among whom was Northumberland's son, Robert Dudley, who after-

wards became the celebrated favourite of Queen Elizabeth.

These new honours were not, however, sufficient to satisfy the insatiable ambition of Northumberland, nor restrain his haughty hopes from aspiring to absolute command. The Duke of Somerset, who, notwithstanding his disgrace, was much beloved and revered by the people, still stood in his way, and, disregarding the close connexion which existed between the families, or rather, using it to effect his purpose, he determined upon his destruction. By corrupting his domestics, and placing them as spies about his person, he was enabled to trump up some frivolous charges against the unfortunate nobleman, upon which he was condemned and executed amid great crowds of spectators who deeply sympathized in his misfortunes and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood to preserve as memorials of him. The people loved him the more on account of the persecutions he endured from Northumberland, whom they hated.

In the following year the king's health began to fail and Northumberland's ambition took a still higher flight. The king's sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both been declared illegitimate by Act of Parliament, though Henry VIII in his will had given them places in the succession. Upon specious pretexts, however, Northumberland prevailed upon the king to issue letters patent dated the 21st of June, 1553, settling the crown upon the

Lady Jane, eldest daughter of Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, by Frances, daughter of Mary, second daughter of King Henry VII, by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, which letters were afterwards subscribed by all the privy council. The Lady Jane had not the slightest title to the crown, for, independently of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, she was excluded from the succession by the issue of Margaret, eldest daughter of King Henry VII, and also by her own mother the Duchess of Suffolk, who was then alive. As soon as Northumberland had induced the king to assent to this suggestion he obtained the Lady Jane in marriage for his fourth son, the Lord Guildford Dudley, and strengthened himself by several other powerful alliances.

On the 6th of July, 1553, the king died in the seventeenth year of his age and seventh of his reign, leaving the way open for the further prosecution of Northumberland's ambitious designs.

The story of Lady Jane Grey is too well known to need recital. Her learning, her piety, her gentleness, and the pain and reluctance with which she yielded to the wishes of her ambitious parents and husband in accepting the regal dignity, as well as her subsequent misfortunes, make her case one of the most affecting incidents in English history.

Mary, as soon as she heard of her brother's death, hastened from Bury St. Edmunds, where

she then resided, to Framlingham Castle in Suffolk, that she might easily escape to France should the emergency of her affairs require it. Her claims were universally acknowledged, and the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk unhesitatingly took the oaths to her. The council was alarmed, and resolved to raise forces with all possible speed. It was at first intended that the Duke of Suffolk should be placed in command, but those of the council who were favourable to Mary influenced the new queen to keep her father near her person in this emergency, and send the Duke of Northumberland on this expedition. That nobleman undertook the charge with undisguised reluctance, and marched from London on the 13th of July at the head of 6000 men. Great crowds assembled to witness the march of the army, and it was observable that not a cry was raised indicating a wish of success. The army soon began to melt away by desertion.

In the mean time the lords of the council, under the pretence of concerting measures for the support of Jane's cause, had quitted the Tower, and feeling unfettered, they sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and immediately proclaimed Mary queen, at Cheapside. As soon as the Duke of Suffolk heard this he saw all was lost, and advised his daughter to lay aside her royalty and bear her misfortune with patience. Jane joyfully embraced the opportunity of yielding up that crown which she had received with so much re-

luctance, in obedience to the will of others, and the ten days' pageant ended. Suffolk hastened to the council, and subscribed their decree, and on the 19th of July, "it was proclaimed amid such rejoicing of the people, that after the name of Mary was read not a word more could be heard."¹

Northumberland, meanwhile, hearing of the revolution which had taken place, proclaimed Queen Mary at Cambridge, with such affectation of joy that he flung his hat into the air, and immediately disbanded his army. He was, however, made prisoner, brought to trial, condemned, and, on the 22nd of August, executed. His two sons, the Lords Ambrose and Guildford Dudley, the unfortunate Lady Jane, and Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, were afterwards also condemned, but on this occasion were reprieved and had hopes of a pardon.

Mary, as might have been expected, immediately took measures for restoring the supremacy of the Pope, and recalled her cousin, Cardinal Pole, from Rome, to assist her with his advice and council. She experienced, however, no difficulties. It is remarkable with what facility people in those days changed their faith; the queen herself appears to have been almost the only one who experienced any difficulty on that score, and, however much we may differ from her views, we cannot

¹ Bishop Godwin's Life and Reign of Queen Mary.

but admire her zeal and constancy. Some of the bishops were changed, and things went on as before.

A subject, however, soon arose which involved the nation in the calamity of another rebellion. In the first year of Mary's reign articles of agreement were entered into for a marriage between her majesty and her cousin Philip Prince of Spain, son of the emperor Charles V. This match was greatly disliked by the whole English nation, both Romanists and English churchmen; for Philip was of a cruel and gloomy temper, and was, moreover, very unpopular, on account of the prejudice at this time entertained by the English against the Spaniards.

The whole country was in a ferment, and a leader only was wanted to produce a general revolt. Sir Thomas Wyatt stepped forward, and having consulted with the Duke of Suffolk and Sir Peter Carew, relative to the restoration of the Lady Jane, it was considered desirable to defer any attempt until Philip's arrival, so that it might appear that they had taken up arms only to liberate the nation from an odious and foreign yoke. After this decision they retired to their respective counties.

The proceedings of Sir Peter Carew in Devonshire were discovered, and he was obliged to fly into France. This brought the whole design prematurely to light; but Sir Thomas Wyatt, when

he found he had nothing but his own courage to depend upon, raised his forces and took possession of Rochester.

The news of this insurrection reached the court on the 26th of January (1554), and the Duke of Norfolk was immediately dispatched, at the head of a small body of troops, to suppress it. The next day 500 men were raised in the city, and sent down to Gravesend to join him. With these he resolved to attack Wyatt who had his head quarters in the old castle of Rochester, and held possession of the bridge over the Medway, which he had defended with some brass guns. Norfolk sent a herald to proclaim the queen's pardon to all who would lay down their arms, but all refused. Sir George Harper, however, feigned submission with a view of corrupting Brett who commanded the 500 Londoners above mentioned. In this he was successful, for before the two armies came in contact, Brett, drawing his sword, addressed his men, beseeching them to consider what they were about to do, and urging upon them that those whom they regarded as rebels were their friends and countrymen, who had only taken up arms to defend the glory of the English nation, and preserve them from Spanish pride and cruelty. He then declared his own resolution to seek his fortune with the noble Wyatt, and begged them to follow his example. He had scarcely finished his speech when they all cried out "a Wyatt," "a

Wyatt," and turned their arms upon their former comrades.

Norfolk being deserted by his troops, was obliged to fly, whilst Wyatt seized eight brass guns and all Norfolk's baggage. Elated with this success, he resolved immediately to march on London.

Wyatt expected to receive instant admission to the city, but found the bridge defended against him. After waiting two days in Southwark, in the hope that those in the city who favoured his designs would make some effort to assist him, he marched to Kingston with the intention of crossing the Thames, but found the bridge destroyed. It was repaired with great diligence, and in the evening his army crossed the river. In the hope of reaching London before the break of day he hastily marched forward, but one of his guns having been disabled on the march, he, ill-advisedly, remained to repair it, which detained him some hours. In consequence of this delay his friends in London, who were expecting his arrival, became alarmed, deserted their colours, and gave information of the conspiracy.

The queen was in great consternation at this discovery, and hastily raised some forces which were placed under the command of the Earl of Pembroke. Wyatt, hearing of this, slackened his march, so that he reached the suburbs about noon, and leaving most of his army, with his artillery, on

a hill beyond St. James, he entered London. At Charing Cross his passage was disputed by Sir John Gage in command of the Guards, who were driven in disorder to the court. Wyatt continued his march towards the city, but found the gates shut against him. He then endeavoured to return, but his little band being surrounded by the Earl of Pembroke's horse, he was persuaded to surrender.

Meanwhile the Duke of Suffolk had made an unsuccessful attempt to raise some forces, and being betrayed to the Earl of Huntingdon by a servant, in whom he confided, he was committed to the Tower, and afterwards executed. The innocent victim of his ambition, and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, shared the same fate, but the queen was very reluctant to take this step, and was only induced to sign the warrant upon the representations of the council that there would be no safety for the kingdom so long as her life was spared. Wyatt and his accomplices also suffered shortly afterwards.

Philip of Spain landed at Southampton on the 20th of July, 1554. Mary met him at Winchester, where they were married on the 25th. He was declared King Consort of England, and his name added to hers on the coins, &c. The conditions of the marriage were : that she should have the disposal of all offices and revenues in her own kingdom ; that if she had a son he should enjoy

England, Burgundy, and the Netherlands; and in case Charles, the son of Philip by Mary of Portugal, his former wife, to whom Spain and the Italian provinces were allotted, died without issue, he was to inherit the whole Spanish succession.

In the autumn of this year, Cardinal Pole arrived from Rome, bearing the Legative authority to settle the ecclesiastical affairs of the country, and soon afterwards the Pope's supremacy was formally restored. The persecutions on account of religion now commenced. Cardinal Pole was himself no persecutor. He was of a mild and gentle disposition, and beheld with reluctance the cruelties which others perpetrated, but, as these measures were in accordance with the laws of the Church, he made no effort to prevent them. Several bishops were deprived, and others, who had suffered the same fate in the preceding reign, reinstated. Latimer and Ridley were burnt at the same time, at Oxford, as was also Cranmer a few months later. Hooper suffered at Gloucester, his own cathedral town. Many others were put to death in the same way. The Princess Elizabeth was in great danger, and was only saved by the interposition of King Philip in her favour.

On the day that Cranmer ended his life, Cardinal Pole received sacerdotal consecration at Greenwich, for he was not yet in holy orders, and three days afterwards, was appointed Archbishop

of Canterbury. His chief concern, in conjunction with the queen, was to obtain restitution of the vast amount of property which had been wrested from the Church, but this being chiefly in the hands of the most powerful nobles, very great difficulties attended it, and neither of them lived long enough to accomplish the design.

On the 25th of October, 1555, the emperor, Charles V, although still in the vigour of his age, from a disgust to the world, determined to resign his dominions to his son Philip, and in the tranquillity of retreat seek for that happiness which he had in vain pursued amidst the tumults of war, and the projects of ambition. Philip thus became King of Spain, where he chiefly resided, leaving Mary, who seems to have been devotedly attached to him, to lead a melancholy and lonely life in England.

It had been stipulated among other conditions in the marriage contract, that England should not be involved in Philip's wars with France; but he, constantly required his wife to supply him with large sums of money, which, in the exhausted state of the English exchequer, it was very difficult to furnish; so that the queen was obliged to have recourse to all kinds of exactions to supply his demands, and thus alienated from herself the affections of her people. At length, however, in the year 1557, the queen's importunity prevailed, war was declared against France, and preparations

made for invading that kingdom. A body of 10,000 men was sent to the Low Countries under the command of the Earl of Pembroke. He joined Philip's army, which was besieging St. Quintin, in Picardy. The French, having on the 10th of August attempted to throw succours into the town, were completely defeated, with a loss of upwards of 2,500 men killed, and many of high rank made prisoners, among whom were Montmorency, Constable of France, and his son. On the 18th, the town was taken by storm, and all that were in it either killed or made prisoners. Among the latter was the Admiral Coligny the governor, who had so bravely defended the place. The English contributed greatly to these victories.

This furnished Henry with a pretext for attacking Calais. This place had cost Edward III a siege of eleven months with the brave army that afterwards won the Battle of Cressy, and it was now deemed impregnable. It was surrounded with marshes, which, during the winter, were impassable, except by a narrow causeway, guarded by two castles. In consequence of the lowness of the English finances they had for some time, in order to avoid expense, been in the habit of withdrawing a large portion of the garrison. This being known to Coligny, he determined to attack the town with a strong force in the middle of winter. The English were unable to offer an effectual resistance, and in eight days this im-

portant fortress fell into the hands of the French ; so that of the mighty domains which formerly belonged to the kings of England beyond their own shores, all was lost except the four little islands in the channel, which formed part of the Duchy of Normandy. The queen was greatly afflicted by this misfortune, and declared that when she died "Calais" would be found written on her heart. Her health, from this time, rapidly declined, and on the 17th of November, 1558, she expired, in the forty-second year of her age and sixth of her reign. Cardinal Pole survived her only twenty-two days. They lived in the utmost harmony and affection, and during their illness messages of kindness and sympathy daily passed between them.

Although, from the persecutions which took place in her reign, she has been called the "Bloody Queen Mary," she seems, personally, little to have deserved this character. She was, without doubt, pious, sincere, merciful by nature, and of unblemished manners, and, except that she was mistaken in her religious views, every way deserving of praise.

Queen Elizabeth was twenty-six years of age when she ascended the throne. The imminent danger to which she was exposed during the reign of her sister, and the apprehensions for her safety, and commiseration for her situation, which were so generally felt, tended to make her, in no ordi-

nary degree, the favourite of the nation. Her accession, therefore, was hailed with delight by all classes of her subjects.

Philip had no sooner heard of Mary's death, than he made proposals of marriage to Elizabeth, offering to procure the Pope's dispensation for their union; but although she was under great obligations to him, and was unwilling to give him offence, yet, as the divorce of her father from Catherine of Arragon was founded upon the belief that the Pope had no power to dispense with the laws of God, she declined the offer.

Elizabeth's first concern was the restoration of the Reformed Faith. Upon this subject she held numerous conferences with Sir William Cecil, whom she had made Secretary of State, and, after some hesitation, resolved, by gradual and secure steps, to attain that object. In the beginning of 1559 Parliament assembled, and Acts were passed, vesting the supremacy of the Church in the queen, prohibiting the exercise of the ceremonial of the Church of Rome, and inflicting penalties on all who absented themselves from their parish churches, and the sacraments. Four hundred and eighty-nine clergymen, among whom were fourteen bishops, refused to take the oath of supremacy and suffered deprivation.

Notwithstanding a peace had been established between England and France, a cause of quarrel soon arose. The two marriages of Henry VIII

with Catherine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn were incompatible with each other, and could not both be legal; and those who looked strictly into the matter were led to doubt the queen's right of succession. It is true Mary had been allowed, unquestioned, to assume the regal estate, but the same causes which rendered her accession easy, produced difficulties in the case of her sister, and rendered her tenure of the throne uncertain and insecure. The next heir was the young Queen of Scots, now married to the Dauphin of France, and Henry II, at the instigation of the Princes of the House of Lorraine, employed all his influence with the Pope to induce him to issue a bill of excommunication against Elizabeth, and acknowledge Mary Queen of England; but Philip of Spain, jealous of the accession of another kingdom to the crown of France, secretly endeavoured to dissuade the Pope from this course. Henry, however, caused his son and daughter-in-law to assume, openly, the title and arms of England. Elizabeth through her ambassador, demanded an explanation of this conduct, but received only evasive answers. Through this she was influenced with a violent jealousy against the Queen of Scots, and resolved to prevent Henry from attaining his object. At this crisis the latter was killed in a tournament, and the crown of France descended to the husband of Mary, now Francis II, who, without reserve, assumed the title of King of England.

In the year 1555, the Earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, who, in reward for the service he had rendered France in the marriage of the queen with the dauphin, had been created Duke of Chatelherault, and granted a pension, was induced by the queen-mother to resign his office, and the Parliament was prevailed upon to appoint her to succeed him. With the view of supporting her authority with her turbulent people, she introduced a body of French troops, commanded by d'Oisel, which excited a great degree of jealousy in the country. At the same time great violence and animosities arose on the subject of religion, engendered chiefly by the exiles, who had been driven from England in the reign of Mary, and this was aggravated by the arrival of John Knox, a furious zealot, who had passed some years in banishment at Geneva. At his preaching serious riots took place at Perth. With tumultuous but irresistible violence, the populace fell upon the churches of that city; overturned the altars, defaced the pictures, and broke in pieces the images. They next turned to the monasteries, robbed and expelled the inmates, and levelled the sumptuous edifices with the ground. The queen proceeded against the rioters with a small body of French troops, accompanied by such of the nobility as were well affected towards her. The Congregation, as they called themselves, made preparations for defence, and being joined by the Earl of Glencairn, they became

formidable from their numbers and the zeal which animated them. By the advice of the Earl of Argyle, a crafty and designing man, who, although he accompanied the queen, was one of the leaders and heads of the congregation, she temporised with the rebels, and was received into Perth, which submitted on her promising an indemnity for past offences, and engaging not to leave any French garrison in the place. The Congregation immediately entered into a new combination, signed a covenant for mutual defence, and vowed to God to employ their whole power in destroying every thing which dishonoured his Holy Name. The Earl of Argyle, and the Prior of St. Andrews now openly took part with them. Thus strengthened they soon found plausible reasons for breaking the truce which had been agreed upon, and recommenced their work of destruction upon the churches and monastries in Fife. The former were spoiled of every decoration which was then esteemed sacred, and the latter they utterly destroyed. The regent immediately marched against the malcontents, but found them assembled in such numbers that they could offer an effectual resistance to the royal forces. The queen, therefore, agreed to a truce for a few days, and retired to the Lothians. The Congregation laid siege to, and took, Perth, thence proceeded to Stirling, and, finding their power irresistible, marched on to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which city opened their gates to

them. This great and unexpected success encouraged the malcontents to enlarge their demands. Instead of being satisfied with the toleration of their religion, which alone they had hitherto claimed, they now aimed at the destruction of the established faith, and the introduction of Protestantism.

Upon representation of the danger of these proceedings, many of the people were persuaded to desert the rebels, who being thus much weakened, the queen ventured to march to Edinburgh, with the hope of surpressing them, but was induced by the Duke of Chatelherault again to listen to terms of accommodation. So much excitement, however, prevailed, that no arrangement could be permanent, and both parties began to collect their forces. The queen obtained an additional force of a thousand men from France, and began to fortify Leith. On the other hand, the Duke of Chatelherault deserted to the rebels, towards whom he had been long inclined. The latter now assembled a convention of their own adherents, and passed an Act depriving the queen of the regency, and ordering all French troops to leave the country. They also began to levy further forces, and again took possession of Edinburgh. At this juncture the Lords of the Congregation applied to Elizabeth for assistance.

The family of Lorrain was at this time paramount in the councils of France, and openly

avowed their intention of maintaining the right of the young Queen of Scots to the English throne; and they only delayed the commencement of the attempt until their authority in Scotland should be supreme. The English Romanists, discontented with Elizabeth's government, were ready to acknowledge Mary's title, and take up arms in its defence. In these circumstances Elizabeth was justified in adopting measures which appeared so evidently necessary to self-preservation.

A fleet was accordingly dispatched to the Firth of Forth under Admiral Winter. The young Duke of Norfolk was made Lieutenant of the North, and an army, consisting of 6000 foot and 2000 horse, under the command of Lord Grey, assembled at Berwick.

In the meanwhile the queen-regent received a further reinforcement of 1000 veteran soldiers commanded by Count Martigues, with a promise of a still larger army under the Marquis D'Elbeuf. They sailed from Dieppe, but encountering a severe storm, in which several of their ships were lost, they were driven back again to the port whence they sailed. The queen-regent, and the French party in Scotland, were greatly disappointed at this untoward event, and the more so from the circumstance that when they saw the English fleet approaching the Firth of Forth they concluded it was D'Elbeuf's expedition, and gave way to expressions of unbounded joy.

The health of the queen-regent, which had been for some time declining, was, from this disappointment, and the anxiety arising from the approach of the English army, sensibly affected. With a spirit broken and depressed by the difficulties of her position, and the impending danger, she retired to Edinburgh Castle.

Early in the spring the English army entered Scotland, when they were immediately joined by the Congregation in great numbers from all parts of the kingdom, and together they marched towards Leith. The French were unable to take the field against an army so superior to them in numbers; but within the walls they made a most gallant defence, and the siege was consequently protracted to a great length.

When the King of France learnt that his troops were entirely blocked up in Leith, both by sea and land, and that no supplies could reach them, he became desirous of an accommodation; and this was the more necessary from the intestine commotions which began to shew themselves in his own country. Accordingly, commissioners were dispatched to confer with Sir William Cecil and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, who had been accredited by Queen Elizabeth.

Whilst these negotiations were going on an event occurred which facilitated the object for which they met. This was the death of the queen-regent, who expired at Edinburgh Castle on the

10th of June, 1550. She was a most pious and wise princess, and one well qualified to render her administration illustrious, and her people happy. Her lot, however, was cast in very troublous times and among a turbulent people, where the nobles were almost independent of the crown, and most jealous of their extensive privileges;—with numerous vassals at their command, who were ever ready to embrace their chieftain's quarrel, they not only claimed, but exercised, the right of controlling the king himself.

In the beginning a treaty of peace was agreed to, in which it was stipulated that both the English and French armies should be withdrawn from Scotland, and that the King and Queen of France should neither assume the title, nor bear the arms, of King and Queen of England, in any time to come.

As the next public transactions in which Sir Peter Carew was engaged refer to Ireland, we will briefly narrate the circumstances in which that country found itself.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth the Earl of Sussex, who had been Lord Deputy of Ireland in the preceding reign, was reappointed governor of that country, with instructions to establish the reformed religion. A Parliament was accordingly assembled for this purpose in January, 1560, and it was found that most of the temporal lords were firmly attached to the Romish Communion. So

various and frequent had been the changes under the preceding sovereigns, that they affected to lament those distractions, and strongly deprecated any further innovation. The bishops were not so zealous, or stedfast, in their faith. They had accepted every phase of religion which had been presented to them, and, with the exception of two, Meath and Kildare, they made no difficulty on the present occasion. In spite, however, of much opposition and resistance, Acts were passed overthrowing the whole ecclesiastical polity of Mary.

It was, however, found impossible to enforce the new laws. The clergy refused to conform, abandoned their cures, and none could be found to supply their places. The people were taught to detest a government which had been consigned to all the terrors of divine vengeance, and to look forward to an opportunity of asserting the cause of truth.

In the mean while John O'Neil, chief of Tyrone, had been guilty of great excesses in the province of Ulster, and had bidden defiance to the English authority. In 1561 Sussex marched against him, and O'Neil had collected his forces to defend himself. An accommodation was, however, agreed to, in which it was stipulated that he should enjoy the Chieftainship of Tyrone, with all the rights and pre-eminences of his station, until the validity of the letters-patent granted to Earl Con, late Baron of Dungannon, had been examined by

Parliament, and if they were declared void, he should be created Earl of Tyrone, and hold his county by English tenure, still retaining his ancient authority over his vassals.

For the confirmation of this treaty he repaired to England, attended by a guard of Gallowlasses, richly attired in the costume of their country, "armed with the battle-axe, their heads bare, their hair flowing on their shoulders, their linen vests dyed with saffron, with long and open sleeves, and surcharged with short military harness."¹ He received from the queen a most gracious reception, and returned with presents and favour. This visit, although regarded in England as the submission of a turbulent and refractory subject, was considered in Ireland as a treaty of peace between two independent sovereigns.²

¹ Camden, A.D. 1562.

² Campian, speaking of O'Neil's visit to England, in his *Histoire of Ireland*, written in 1570, Dublin ed. of 1809, page 189, says: "The courtiers noting his haughtiness and barbarity, devised his stile thus: O Neale the great, Cousin to St. Patricke, friend to the Queen of England, and enemy to all the world besides." And he goes on to say how, after his return, he used civility, and exercised justice and Christian charity. "Sitting at meate, before he put one morsell into his mouth, he used to slice a portion above the dayly almes, and send it, namely to some beggar at his gate, saying, it was meete to serve Christ first." On the 18th of November, 1563, he bound himself by articles to serve the queen in the most loyal manner, as appears from Patent Roll of that date.—See O'Donovan's *Annals of Ireland*, in which an abstract of the Patent is given. Vol. v. A.D. 1561, *note*.

It was not long before O'Neil again returned to his old courses.¹ Upon being told that Mac-Arthy, the Irish lord of Desmond, had submitted to the queen, and surrendered his possessions to receive them back under letters-patent, with the title of Earl of Clancarthy, "A precious earl," he replied, "I keep a laquay as noble as he. But let him enjoy his honour, it is not worthy of O'Neil. I have indeed made peace with the queen at her desire, but I have not forgotten the royal dignity of my ancestors. Ulster was theirs, and shall be mine. With the sword they won it; with the sword I will maintain it."²

Shortly after this he broke into open rebellion, threatening destruction to all who should dispute his sovereignty of Ulster. His irruptions were sudden and violent. He destroyed several castles on the borders of the Pale, burnt the church of Armagh, expelled Macguire, lord of Fermanagh, who refused to acknowledge his superiority, sent his agents into Connaught to induce the Irish lords to join his cause, and, as an independent prince, dispatched his ambassadors to the Pope and King of Spain, soliciting assistance against the queen and an heretical government.

Sir Henry Sydney had, in the mean while,

¹ Among Cecil's papers is a curious memorandum to remind him that Shane O'Neill was to be exhorted "to change his garments and go like a gentleman."

² Leland's *His. of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 232.

been appointed lord deputy,¹ and he took his measures for the reduction of this rash and turbulent chieftain, with consummate prudence, by uniting against him a number of his neighbouring enemies, who, provoked by the injuries they had received at his hands, were always ready to attack him, whilst he himself took his station on the northern borders with a large force.

Attacked on all sides O'Neil was reduced to great distress. In several skirmishes his forces were defeated with great slaughter, and it was considered that in a few months he lost 3,500 men. Obligated to fly from one hiding-place to another, without hope, or resources, he at last resolved to submit himself to mercy. Just as he was about to carry out this resolution he was dissuaded from it by one of his followers, who represented that he could expect no favour from the English, and advised him rather to throw himself upon the protection of the Scottish inhabitants of Ulster, a party of whom were encamped on Clan-ha-boy. O'Neil was pleased at this suggestion, which would relieve him from the degradation of submission to his enemies; and releasing the son of the Scottish commander, who was a prisoner in his hands, he sent him before him to explain his request.

¹ Sydney was appointed about the middle of October, 1565. He arrived in Dublin on the 13th, and was publicly admitted to the Government on the 20th of January following.

The English Government was well informed of O'Neil's design, and sent an agent to the Scottish commander to inflame the passions of the Scots against the Irish chieftain, and incite them to revenge the injuries they had received at his hands. They too readily listened to this proposal, and receiving O'Neil with every demonstration of hospitality in the commander's tent, took occasion, during the carousal which followed, to raise a quarrel, and treacherously assassinated him and his whole party.

The lord-deputy immediately marched into Tyrone, where he was received with great professions of respect, duty, and obedience. By the queen's authority he nominated Tyrlough Lynough O'Neil to succeed John as chieftain, who, being of a meek and peaceable disposition, gave every expectation of future quiet and order in that unruly district.

Meanwhile the south of Ireland was harassed by private feuds and disorders. The English Pale was disturbed by the quarrels of the Cavanaghs, O'Tools, O'Byrnes, and other smaller septs. Munster was in a still worse condition, the old feuds between the families of Desmond and Ormond were revived, and proceeded to such a height, that they were on the point of fighting a pitched battle, when, unexpectedly, pacific councils prevailed.

Gerald, the then Earl of Desmond was a noble-

man "not brought up" as the queen's letters expressed it, "where law and justice had been frequented." He was attached to Irish habits and customs, and indulged in the barbaric and oppressive pride of an Irish chieftain. He made encroachments upon all his neighbours, but more particularly upon the possessions of the Earl of Ormond, who, collecting his followers, repulsed the intruders. Desmond himself was severely wounded and taken prisoner, and as Ormond's soldiers were carrying him, stretched on a bier, off the scene of the engagement, one of them is said to have asked in triumph, "Where is now the great lord of Desmond?" To which he gave the proud reply, "Where, but in his proper place? Still upon the necks of the Butlers!"¹

These quarrels proceeded to such a length, that the queen summoned the two earls to her presence. They both attended her, when terms of accommodation were agreed upon, and Desmond engaged to suppress the Brehon jurisdiction, and support the execution of the queen's laws in his territories.

It was not long, however, before contentions again arose between them relative to carrying out the articles which had been agreed upon. Desmond pleaded his cause before the Lord Deputy at Youghal in 1567. After a careful examination into all the circumstances, Sydney gave a judgment in favour of Ormond, and ordered Desmond to

¹ Leland's Ireland, vol. ii. p. 278.

make reparation. The proud Earl refused to submit to this award, and would have left the Deputy's Court, but the latter retained him under various pretences, and, at length, placed him under arrest and conveyed him a prisoner to Dublin. This bold act of the Lord Deputy, and the public manner in which the earl was conveyed a prisoner from Desmond into Connaught, and from Connaught to Dublin, produced a profound impression upon the Irish. The queen herself was alarmed at this step, and expressed great dissatisfaction at the state of the country, so that on the death of John O'Neil, Sydney resolved to repair to England. Sir John of Desmond, having arrived in Dublin to see his brother, or perhaps to sue for his release, was also made prisoner, and Sir Henry Sydney carried them both to England to present them to the queen, when they were both committed to the Tower. This step confirmed that hatred to the English Government, which animated these gentlemen during the remainder of their lives.

The condition of Ireland at this time (1567), was most deplorable. In the beginning of the year, the Lord Deputy made a progress through the southern and western parts of the kingdom, and, in a long letter to the queen,¹ reported the desolate and disastrous state of the country. On the 27th of January, he proceeded into

¹ A full abstract is printed in Wright's Ireland, vol. i. pp. 416-422.

Leix (Queen's County), of which he says that it had greatly improved, that a "great increase of tillage and thorough quiet was there to be seen." He moved thence to Kilkenny, which he found in a very satisfactory state. The territory of the Baron of Upper Ossory was in "indifferent good order, saving somewhat molested by certain outlaws of the same country breed," who it appears were supported by the evil rule of the Earl of Ormond's territory. Some of these were taken and executed. Here the Lord Deputy heard of the lawless doings upon the county of Kilkenny and the lands of Ormond, of the younger sons of the Baron of Upper Ossory, two of whom he cast into prison. In Ely he found that the O'Carrel governed the country well, but O'Magher's country, "all waste and uninhabited," in consequence of the inroads of the outlaws of Upper Ossory, and the excesses committed by the younger brethren of the Earl of Ormond.

The further he proceeded into Munster the more wretched the country became. The county of Tipperary was involved in great disorders in consequence of the disputes between the Earl of Ormond and the Baron of Dunboyne, and the unnatural feuds in the family of the latter, which the Deputy took strong measures to redress. But all these disorders were small in comparison with those he found as he proceeded, chiefly arising from the "insufficiency to govern them that have.

the rule under "the Earl of Ormond, in whom there appeared manifestly to want both justice, judgment, and stoutness to execute."

The country adjoining was suffering still more from local misgovernment. Here the Deputy found an immeasurable tract of land now waste and uninhabited, which, of late years, had been well tilled and pastured. The country depopulated through slaughter, banishment, and famine; villages subverted, churches ruined, monasteries vacant, and cathedrals profaned through a want of bishops; the inhabitants of the three principal towns, Clonmel, Cashel, and Fedart,¹ almost ready to perish within the walls, all trade and commerce being destroyed, "for neither durst the people of the country bring in anything unto them neither yet durst they issue out of their walls to buy any thing in the country, but both of the one and the other, they were often times spoiled, and many times killed."

Sydney next visited Waterford where he was received with great cordiality and respect. Here he summoned the lords, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county to meet him, and, he states, "it well appeared that they had not forgotten the good obedience which had been taught them by Sir Warham St. Leger and the other commissioners, during the time of their abode there," but, he adds, "they were ready to play the part of the washed

¹ Fethard.

swine in returning to her foul puddle, unless continuance of justice amongst them detain them from it." The chief disorders of this district were found to arise through the turbulence of the Powers. He therefore summoned the Lord Power before him, and required him, by a certain day, to bring in the chief offenders; but when the time arrived he produced only two, whom the Deputy, "in the way of good speed, committed to the gallows."

At Youghal, which he found in "evil case," Sydney gave judgment in the cause of the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, before referred to. Here, in spite of the exertions of Desmond to prevent them, the principal lords of the county of Cork made their submission, and requested to be received into the queen's protection and shielded from the oppressions of the Earl of Desmond; offering to hold themselves, their lives, lands, and goods, at her majesty's disposal.

The whole district of Desmond and Thomond, Sydney represents as being waste and desolate, and subject to the greatest disorders. The oppression and misery of the wretched inhabitants beyond conception. "Perjury, robbery, and murder, counted allowable." The sacrament of baptism utterly neglected, and the people "without any conscience of sin."

The Lord Deputy next visited Connaught and found the town of Galway in great alarm on account of the wars between the Earl of Clanrickard and

the Mac William Oughter and O'Flaherty, and, "most of all, the disorder of the Earl of Clanrickard's two sons, which he had by two wives, and both alive; and these two young boys, in the life of their father, do strive who shall be their father's heir, and in the same strife commit no small spoils and damage to the country." These two unruly lads he arrested and carried prisoners to Dublin. "From Galway," Sydney says, "I travelled through a great and ancient town in Connaught called Athenry, where I was offered a pitiful and lamentable present, namely, the keys of the town, not as to receive them again, as all other accustomedly do, but for me still to keep or otherwise dispose at my pleasure; inasmuch as they were so impoverished by the extortion of the lords about them, as they were no longer able to keep that town. The town is large and well walled, and it appeareth by matter of record there hath been in it three hundred good householders, and since I knew this land there was twenty, and now I find but four, and they poor, and, as I write, ready to leave the place. The cry and lamentation of the poor people was great and pitiful, and nothing but thus: 'succour, succour, succour!'" The Earl of Clanrickard, who seems to have been their greatest oppressor, was compelled to make them some reparation.

The distracted and deplorable condition of the country through which Sydney had travelled arose entirely from the want of sufficient vigour and

control in the persons to whom the Government was confided. These were chiefly the great lords in the several districts, who, by always quarrelling and carrying on a petty warfare among themselves, produced those disorders which it was their province to restrain. Besides, there was not one among them who had the capacity, or the power, to exercise a jurisdiction over the whole district. Sydney, therefore, offered the important suggestion, that the only way "for reformation of these two provinces, was by planting justice by presidents and councils in each." The adoption of these views tended more towards the final settlement of the kingdom than whole armies, or any other measure.

During Sydney's absence in England, commotions of the most serious character broke out anew in the South; even the English Pale was not without its disturbers, and the difficulties were the greater inasmuch as the leaders were only half responsible agents. Thus the Earl of Ormond, being in attendance on the court in England, had left his brother, Sir Edmund Butler, in charge of his extensive territories, who, upon some frivolous pretence, made a hostile incursion upon the Geraldines. The Earl of Desmond and his brother, Sir John, were in the Tower, from circumstances which we have lately seen, and the command of the followers of that powerful house, had been secretly confided to James Fitzmaurice,

an inveterate opponent of the English Government and the Reformed Church. In conjunction with the Earl of Clancarthy, who had relapsed into all the rude barbarism of an Irish chieftain, he had put himself into communication with the Pope and the King of Spain, to obtain succours in an attempt to cast off the English yoke. The fidelity of Turlough Lynough was also suspected.

In the year 1568, James Fitzmaurice, in conjunction with O'Connor Kerry and other chieftains, at the head of a numerous army, invaded the county of Kerry, and committed the most horrible slaughter and devastation. All the wretched inhabitants who were fortunate enough to escape the sword, sought protection in the fortified town of Lixnaw, the seat of the Fitzmaurices of Kerry. Here the Lord of Lixnaw was himself besieged, and suffered much from the excessive heat of the weather, and consequent drought. An attack was thereupon made upon the besiegers, who were defeated with terrible slaughter, O'Connor Kerry, and several other distinguished chieftains, were slain. After this James Fitzmaurice returned to his own country to strengthen himself by new alliances, and recruit his forces for another struggle.

The claims of Sir Peter Carew which threatened the estates of nearly all the great families of the south, enhanced the difficulties of the country. King Henry II, by patent under the great seal,

had granted the whole of the kingdom of Cork, being the territories of Macarthy More, to Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Myles de Cogan, who divided the country between them.¹ Robert Fitz-Stephen left issue, one daughter, married to a Carew, who thus acquired very extensive possessions in the south of Ireland, embracing the greater portion of the province of Munster. Here the family continued, in great honour, until the commencement of the wars of the Roses. The English families in Ireland espoused the rival causes, and being thus divided among themselves, each obtained the assistance of the native Irish, who, after a while joined against the weakened English and expelled them from the country. Sir Peter preferred a claim to his inheritance, which being favourably received by the queen, he at this time took proceedings for its recovery, in due course of law.

Such was the condition of Ireland when Sir Henry Sydney returned to his government in October, 1568. His first act was to summon the disorderly chieftains before him to answer for their conduct. Sir Edmund Butler found excuses to evade the order. The Earl of Clancarthy showed a disposition to submit, but James Fitzmaurice disregarded the attempt to reduce him to obedience. The districts of Thomond and Ulster were disturbed from various feuds, for the settlement of

¹ A copy of the patent may be found in Lamb. MS. 635, folio 93.

which the deputy made a hasty journey northwards.

In obedience to the queen's command a Parliament was now assembled, the chief objects of which were to abolish, by legal enactment, the Irish customs of captainry, coyne, and livery,¹ and

¹ Coyne and livery consisted of free quarters for man and horse, and exaction of money besides, and was a means of great oppression by the Irish lords. Even in the English Pale these abuses existed, as is shown in the proceedings of the High Commissioners of Inquiry into the grievances and social state of that district in 1537, just published by the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society. It appears that the Earl of Kildare, in Carlow and Kildare, and Lady Katherine Poer, in Waterford, not only required livery of food for their own men and horses, but also for those of all their guests, English or Irish, particularly during the festivals of Easter and Christmas. Lord Kildare also required it for the keep of his stud of horses; he required from every ploughland, and from every three cottiers, a workman for one week in the year, to make ditches or trenches on the borders, and an axe-man to cut passages through the woods to which the enemy fled when defeated, or in which they concealed the cattle they had plundered. When either Lord Kildare, or Poer, or the Earl of Ossory hunted, their hounds were supplied with bread and milk. When the Viceroy, or any great man, visited Lady Poer at Curraghmore, she levied a subsidy off her tenantry to provide for his entertainment. When Ossory or Poer gave away a daughter in marriage, the former demanded of his tenants a sheep from every flock; and the latter, a sheep of every husbandman, and a cow of every village.

These exactions were prohibited in Tipperary as early as August, 1564. On the 24th of June, Sydney writes that: "it is bruited that coyne and livery is to continue to the unspeakable grief of all honest and grave men;" and on the 11th of

other exactions by which the country was oppressed ; and carry out those reforms, both civil and ecclesiastical, which had been already introduced by the sword. Public peace and the general welfare of the country were intimately connected with the designs of Government, but there were some who from opposition to the reformed religion, a desire to return to the old customs of the country, by which, through oppressing the people, they were themselves enriched, and a jealousy of the favours shown to those of English race, determined to offer a strong opposition to every measure proposed by the Government. To counteract this opposition, the Lord Deputy extensively interfered in the elections, and used every effort to strengthen his administration. The first trial of the strength of the opposing parties was on the election of the speaker. The court party put

July he writes that he had been willed to make no general abolition of these exactions when five several statutes have made the taking of it felony, and the sixth treason. He calls it, "that reviving Hydra, coyne and livery." The queen, by her former letters, had ordered these extortions to be abolished, but she seems to have afterwards recalled the order, for on the 20th of October, 1566, she writes that it was not her meaning simply to allow of it, but rather to have it taken away by degrees. The abolition of these imposts met with some opposition. It was urged that to do so would weaken the Englishry and faithful lords, until her majesty have a better bridle upon the untrue and deceitful rebels of the north. In the Parliament of 1568—9, an Act was passed granting a subsidy of 13*s.* 4*d.* upon every plough-land for ten years, in consideration of coyne and livery being discharged.

forward Stanihurst, the recorder of Dublin; the opposition proposed Sir Christopher Barnewell, a great favourite with the old English race. The former was elected by a large majority. The opposition was greatly enraged and refused to proceed to business, contending that the Parliament was illegal; that there were burgesses returned for towns which were not incorporated; that several sheriffs and magistrates had returned themselves; and, above all, that a number of Englishmen had been elected for towns which they had never seen, or known, still less resided in, as required by law.

Four days were spent in violent altercations, the opposition refusing to proceed to business. The speaker attended the Lord Deputy and council to explain the objection of the opposition to the constitution of the House. The matter was referred to the decision of the judges, who, after mature deliberation, decided that those who were returned for towns not incorporated, and those who had returned themselves, were not entitled to their seats; but with regard to those members who were not resident in the towns for which they had been returned, they adjudged them to be legally elected. This decision having still left the Government in a large majority, the clamours of the opposition became more violent than ever; they refused to give credit to the message, and were only appeased when the judges came down in person to confirm it.

In this discontented mood the House proceeded to business, determined to offer a vigorous opposition, in detail, to all Government measures, as they were brought forward. Hooker, the author of our memoir, who had been sent into Ireland as the agent of Sir Peter Carew, and had been returned for Athenry, has given a detailed account of the proceedings of this Parliament in his *Annals of Ireland*, published in Holinshed's *Chronicle*. Being member for Exeter, in the English Parliament, he was accustomed to parliamentary business and usages, and was therefore greatly scandalized at the riotous and disorderly conduct which he witnessed. He made a high prerogative speech which so inflamed the passions of the opposition that the House broke up in great confusion, and it was found necessary for his parliamentary friends to escort him to his lodgings in the house of Sir Peter Carew, to protect him from personal violence.

After a few days the excitement in some measure subsided. The Bill for subsidy was received and passed, with an encomium on the queen for delivering the realm from the grievous exactions of coyne and livery, and on the Deputy for the vigour and integrity of his administration. Many other excellent measures were also adopted.

One of the chief opponents of the Government measures, in the House of Commons, was Sir Edmund Butler. The Lord Deputy attributed his

conduct to disloyalty, and openly rebuked him in the court, holding out some menaces against him. Butler was little careful to conceal his resentment, and sullenly withdrew into his own country. In the meantime, Sir Peter Carew having obtained a decree of the council in favour of his title to the Barony of Odrone, had been placed by the sheriff in possession of that territory. A portion of this was in the occupation of Butler, and Sir Peter, having entered a certain meadow, was attacked by Sir Edmund's followers and driven out. These circumstances increased the ill feeling already existing between Sydney and Butler, who accused the former of injustice and partiality. The Lord Deputy, being desirous of appeasing the feud between Carew and the latter, sent the Viscount Baltinglass and Mr. Richard Shee, as commissioners, into Carlow, to hear the cause between them: but Butler alleged that no justice could be expected from his mortal enemy, and contemptuously refused to appear before the commissioners.

This insolence was the more alarming on account of the state of Munster. James Fitzmaurice, at the head of the Geraldines, had raised the standard of revolt, and had seduced the Earl of Clancarthy to join in his rebellion. These parties had sent agents to the Pope and to the King of Spain, earnestly soliciting their assistance in an attempt to overturn the English rule. Butler now entered into an alliance with these insurgents, and

Sir Peter Carew, who had lately been appointed constable of Leighlin, was ordered to proceed against him, upon which service he entered with great alacrity. He stormed Cloughgrennan Castle, Butler's chief residence, and, after ravaging his lands, marched to Kilkenny. Whilst there, he received intelligence that a considerable body of the Irish was assembled at a little distance from the town. He marched upon them suddenly, surprised them, and put a large number to the sword. Sir Edmund Butler was not present on this occasion, but he no sooner heard of it than he openly avowed his alliance with the rebels of Munster; and the confederates, joining all their forces, invested the city of Kilkenny. This city, although belonging to the Butlers, offered such a vigorous resistance, that the invaders were repelled. They then turned their fury upon the open country, burning and destroying in all directions. Enniscorthy was attacked during the fair, and an immense amount of valuable property fell into the hands of the insurgents; whilst the wretched inhabitants were subjected to the most brutal treatment. So little opposition did the rebels encounter that they supposed the entire expulsion of the English was near at hand, and for the purpose of effectually attaining this object, they prevailed upon the Earl of Thomond to embrace their cause, and sent their emissaries into Ulster to acquaint Turlough Lynough with their successes, and induce him to

take a body of Scots into his pay, and cause a diversion on the northern borders of the Pale.

The alarm attending this rebellion was very great. Sydney marched into Munster at the head of a large body of troops, and the Earl of Ormond, who had been sometime resident at the English court, was sent over with the view of bringing his brothers, either by force, or persuasion, into subjection. He landed at Wexford on the 14th of August, and found his brothers ready to yield to his views.¹ Accordingly he presented them to the Lord Deputy at his camp near Limerick, where they made their submission,² and were sent prisoners to Dublin.

James Fitzmaurice and his followers retired before the Lord Deputy's army into Munster, where, as usual, they took refuge in their secret haunts in the woods and forests. Sydney made a progress through the province. Many of the highest rank, who had not been openly implicated in the insurrection, renewed their assurances of loyalty, and joined the Deputy against the rebels. English garrisons were placed in several castles, and among others, in that of Ballymartyr, held by the Seneschal of Imokelly, who had committed great ravages. Humphry Gilbert (afterwards Sir Humphry) was left in the military command of the district, having his

¹ See No. 9, Appendix H.

² See No. 10, Appendix H.

head-quarters at Kilmallock. Sydney continued his progress from Limerick to Galway, and from Galway to Athlone, where he installed Sir Edward Fitton President of Connaught, after which he returned to Dublin. Sir John Perrot was soon afterwards constituted President of Munster.

Turlough Lynough, in the mean while, had complied with the request of Fitzmaurice, and taken into his pay a body of Scots, with whom he purposed to invade the northern borders. When about to put this project into execution an accident occurred which nearly deprived him of his life, and threw Tyrone into the utmost confusion. Factions were quickly formed, and contentions arose about the succession to the chieftainry, whilst the Scots, who saw no prospect of obtaining their pay, dispersed. Turlough Lynough, on his recovery, finding himself abandoned by his friends, again made his peace with the Government.

The Earl of Clancarthy had now surrendered himself to Gilbert, and the south had, apparently, been reduced to such a state of peace and security that the latter received permission to return to England, and the Earl of Ormond was appointed to succeed him. But, notwithstanding the apparent calm, a storm was collecting which burst out with sudden fury when least expected. Ormond, lulled into false security, had not exercised that vigilance which was necessary for the protection of

Kilmallock, by which neglect that important town was brought to sudden destruction. On the night of the 2nd of March, 1570, James Fitzmaurice suddenly attacked the place, scaled the walls unobserved, and took possession of it without resistance. The inhabitants were treated with the greatest barbarity; the town plundered of every article that it was possible to carry away, and then committed to the flames. In a few hours nothing remained of this handsome town but its bare and blackened walls.

Sir John Perrot landed at Waterford on the 27th of February, 1571, and, after having been sworn into his office in Dublin, and made his arrangements, he proceeded to the seat of his Government. During two years he pursued the rebels with the most active and unrelenting severity, storming their castles, and chasing them from one hiding place to another, until at last, worn out with fatigue, hunger, and fear, they were constrained to cast themselves at his feet, and James Fitzmaurice made his abject, but insincere, submission.

Sir Edmund Butler constantly avowed that the sole cause of his rising in arms was the attempt made by Sir Peter Carew to deprive him of his lands, and the partiality which he alleged was shewn by the Lord Deputy, in Sir Peter's favour. In consequence of these representations, and the apprehensions entertained at court at the close of

the Butler wars, that in the then unsettled state of the country great danger would arise from Sir Peter being allowed to press his suit, he was recalled to England. His absence greatly endangered his interests in Ireland, and Hooker constantly urged the necessity of his immediate return; but, notwithstanding his continual suit to the queen to that effect, she could not be induced to accede to it. In May, 1572, however, she so far yielded to his solicitation as to write, herself, to Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy,¹ authorising him to allow Sir Peter to cause declaration to be made of his titles and interest; and if the Lord Deputy found appearance of justice in his claims, he was instructed, with the concurrence of the Council, to cause the said titles to be discovered to such of the parties in possession as, in their discretion, might be deemed convenient, and to use his best endeavours and persuasions, to induce them to come to some reasonable composition.

Declaration was made accordingly, and a commission issued² to the Lord President and Council of Munster, for inquiry to be made according to Her Majesty's letters. Hooker was despatched with this commission, and recommended to Sir John Perrot as one whose conference he might safely use. Hooker had accompanied the Lord Deputy to Waterford in the month of January,

¹ 3rd of May, 1572. See No. 14, Appendix H.

² 26th of February, 1573. See No. 17, Appendix H.

and there finding the Lord President, the matter had been considered, and it was thought so nearly to affect the inheritance of the noblemen of Munster, that rather than yield they would again rise in rebellion. This commission was received by Perrot on the 15th of March. On the 19th of the same month he writes to the Lord Deputy and council,¹ declining to deal in a cause of so much importance, and representing the danger which would arise to the state from meddling in a matter which would touch the wildest and strongest in Munster, and suggesting that it would be much better that Her Majesty should take Sir Peter's title into her hands, giving him some piece of land in England, or otherwise considering him.

Hereupon all proceedings were again stayed, and notwithstanding Sir Peter continually pressed for permission to visit Ireland, representing that he had expended 6000*l.* in following his causes there, and that although he had recovered the Barony of Odrone, the occupiers, in his absence, would not compound with his agent for the rents, or take leases of them ; all he could obtain were some concessions in the amount of cess levied upon Odrone.²

We must again direct our attention to the north of Ireland. The continual feuds and wars which,

¹ See No. 20, Appendix H.

² Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy, dated 14th March, 1573. See No. 26, Appendix H.

for a long period, had prevailed in the province of Ulster, had almost depopulated the country, and it had for some time been a favourite project to colonize some portions of it with English settlers. As early as 1570, Sir Thomas Smith, secretary to the queen, had obtained a grant of the peninsula of Ardes, lying on the coast of Down, whither his natural son, of the same name, transported a colony, which, for a short time, appeared to promise success. These expectations, however, were soon annihilated by young Smith's untimely fate, who fell a victim to the treachery of one of the O'Neils, the original possessors of the soil.

This untoward event, however, did not deter others from entering upon similar projects. Brian MacPhelim O'Neil had seized a great part of the district of Clan-na-boy, burnt the town of Knockfergus, and raised great tumults in the country. Walter Devereux Viscount Hereford, who, for his great services in suppressing the rebellion in the north, during the preceding year, had been created Earl of Essex, was desirous of undertaking the settlement and plantation of the country. This design was fostered by those of the court who were desirous of being freed from the restraint of his presence. An arrangement was accordingly made by which Essex was to be invested with a moiety of the country he conquered and thus settled ; and that the army engaged should be maintained at the joint expense of the queen and himself, each soldier

to receive a certain grant of land at a nominal rent. The earl was to be commander-in-chief for seven years, and, in conjunction with the crown, continue the colonization until a thousand English settlers should be established on each moiety.¹

Great jealousies arose on the part of the Lord Deputy relative to Essex's commission, and several delays and impediments occurred which prevented his sailing until August 1573. So great, however, was the confidence in this expedition, that Essex, to raise the necessary funds, mortgaged his estates to the queen for ten thousand pounds, and many English noblemen, and persons of distinction, determined to risk their lives and fortunes in the undertaking. Among these was Sir Peter Carew, who acted as Marshal of the army. Essex landed at Knockfergus on the 16th of September, where he found Brian Mac Phelim, Hugh O'Neil,² son of Mathew of Dungannon, and even Turlough Lynough himself, ready to resist him. Through the machinations of Essex's enemies, his difficulties still continued. In order to appease the Lord Deputy, it was agreed that his commission should be issued by the latter, so that the earl might appear to be acting under his authority. The transmission of this document was intentionally delayed, and the Irish had secret intimation that

¹ A note of the agreement between the Queen and the Earl of Essex is preserved in Lamb. MS. 611, folio 182.

² Afterwards the great Earl of Tyrone.

they might resist the earl with impunity. They soon began to despise his numbers, and resorted to their old system of warfare, harassing the English forces by perpetual skirmishes. It was soon found that the delays which had been intentionally caused were fatal to the campaign, and many of the earl's associates, perceiving that all his designs were secretly counteracted, on various pretences withdrew from the enterprise.

Sir Peter Carew wrote several letters to Sir William Cecil, strongly representing the inadequacy of the powers conferred upon Essex, and entreating for the amendment of his commission, but without effect. It was not intended by those who had influence with the queen that the expedition should be successful. Sir Peter's health, however, having failed, he was, in November 1573, prevailed upon by Essex to retire from the army for that cause, as well as to give him an opportunity of appeasing some feuds in his barony of Odrone.¹

At last, in 1574, the Lord Deputy sent the earl his patent. Perceiving him to be engaged in fortifying Clan-na-boy, he gave him positive orders to pursue the Earl of Desmond one way, whilst he pressed him another. Essex obeyed, and had the good fortune either to force or persuade Desmond

¹ See Letter of the Earl of Essex to the Council, dated 2nd November, 1573, No. 27, Appendix H.

to submit. This act gained Essex great credit, and his success, in all probability would have been still greater, had not his hands been tied by the fallacious arts of his enemies, who made the most unwarrantable attempts to damage his reputation.

In the month of April 1575, in order to supply those qualifications necessary to the successful termination of the war, in which the Earl of Essex was reputed to be deficient, the queen, confiding in the experience, wisdom, and courage of Sir Peter Carew, and considering the friendship which existed between the earl and him, called upon him to repair unto Essex, and aid him with his council and advice. For this purpose he was granted the office of lieutenant with pay for twenty horsemen.¹

It does not appear that Sir Peter obeyed these orders. Probably his health would not permit him to do so. His course was now nearly run, for after a short but painful illness, he died at Ross on the 27th of November in the same year, a stout soldier, a loyal subject, and a most disinterested patriot.

The career of Essex continued to be marked by misfortune, and except the zeal of his attendants, the affections of the English soldiers, and the esteem of the native Irish, he gained nothing by all his anxieties and exertions. Worn out by chagrin and fruitless fatigues, he was finally com-

¹ See No. 30, Appendix H.

pelled to surrender his commission, and in the spring of 1576 he returned to England, where he did not attempt to dissemble his indignation at the unjust treatment he had received.

His stay at court, however, not being agreeable to the Earl of Leicester, the queen was prevailed upon to send him back again to Ireland, with the high-sounding title of Earl Marshal of that kingdom. He soon found that his position was not improved, the underhand dealings of his enemies still followed him, thwarting all his purposes. Grief and vexation brought on an attack of dysentery, from which he died at Dublin on the 2nd September, 1576.

The dyscourse and dyscoverye of the lyffe of Sir Peter Carewe, of Mohonesotrey, yn the Countie of Devon, knight, who died at Rosse, yn Irelande, a^o 1575, and was buryed yn the Citie of Waterforde; collected by John Vowell, Ās. Hoker, of the Citie of Excester, gent.

THIS Sir Peter Carew was born, and descended, of the honourable and ancient house and family of the Carews, who first were barons in the county of Pembroke, in Wales, and afterwards of Mohun's Ottery in Devon: his first proper and ancient name is Montgomeroye. But by reason that one Eugenius, his ancestor did marry one Engharthe, the daughter to Rhesius, Prince of Wales, and thereby made Baron of the castle of Carew, in the county of Pembroke, the name of honour, in course of time, became to be the name of the family, and so the natural and proper name of Montgomeroye, grew into the name of Carew.¹ This Sir Peter Carew was the younger son

¹ There are various MS. pedigrees extant of this distinguished family, of which the most clear and satisfactory we have seen, as regards the earlier period of its history, is one in the handwriting of Sir George Carew, Earl of Totnes, among the Carew MSS., in the

to Sir William Carew, knight, the son and heir to

Lambeth Library, (611. fo. 42. See Appendix I.) In this, the original progenitor is shown to be Adam de Montgomerie, whose son, Edmond de Montgomerie, married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Rhys ap Tudor, prince of South Wales, whose other daughter, Nesta, married Stephen, a Norman gentleman. The issue of this marriage was Robert Fitz Stephens, the first Englishman that invaded Ireland, to whom King Henry II eventually gave a moiety of the kingdom of Cork. Edmund de Montgomerie, by his marriage above-mentioned, acquired Carew Castle, and considerable estates in South Wales. His son Eugene de Montgomerie is designated Baron of Carew, from which time the name of Montgomerie was disused. By the marriage of William, Baron of Carew, grandson of Eugene, with Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Robert Fitz Stephens, the extensive possessions of that gentleman in south Ireland passed to the Carew family. Nicholas, Baron Carew, grandson of William, married Amicia, daughter and heir of Richard Tuit, Lord of Marston, in Ireland, and Nicholas, the son of Nicholas, by marriage with Avice, daughter and heir of Digon, Baron of Odrone, acquired possession of that barony, which was a sort of palatinate, formerly belonging to Margaret, Countess of Norfolk. John, the issue of this marriage, married Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Mohun, of Ottery Mohun, in the county of Devon, in the partition of whose lands, Carew received Mohun's Ottery, 25 Edward I. John, the son of this John, was Lord Justice of Ireland in 1350; he was the last who received any profits from his lands in that country. From him Sir Peter Carew was the eighth in lineal descent.

It is only right to say, however, that Sir Peter Carew's claim of descent from Robert Fitz Stephens is not unchallenged. It is alleged by O'Donovan, (*Annals of Ireland*, vol. V. p. 1737,) that in the reign of Edward III, a claim similar to that preferred by Sir Peter Carew, was made by his ancestor Thomas Carew; but by an Inquisition taken at Cork before Sir Thomas Lucy, Lord Justice of Ireland, on the 31st of August, in the 5 Edward III, it was found that "Robert Fitz Stephen died, seized of the moiety of the estate granted by Henry II to him and Milo de Cogan, and that the said Fitz Stephen was a bastard (not legitimated by Act of Parliament) and died without issue of his body; that the claim of Thomas Carew, asserting that he and his ancestors were heirs to Fitz Stephen, could not be true, because the said Fitz Stephen was a bastard, and died without heir of his body;" and O'Donovan affirms that Sir

Sir Edmund Carew, knight,¹ and the last named Baron of Carew, who was slain at the siege of Tyrwen with the shot of a gun, in the fifth year of King Henry the VIIIth, 1513, and was born at Mohun's Ottery, in the year of our Lord, 1514. This Peter, in his primer years, being very pert and forward, his father conceived a great hope of some good thing to come of him. And, having then other sons, he thought best to employ this his youngest son in the schools, and so, by means of learning, to bring him to some advancement; wherefore he brought him, being about the age of twelve years, to Exeter, to

Peter's title was based upon a forged roll, which was received as evidence. With the highest respect for Dr. O'Donovan, we have to observe that this is the mere Irish view of the question, and that a charge of forgery is more easily made than sustained; at all events, it is clearly shown by *numerous* entries in the Record Rolls of Ireland, that the Carews, during successive generations, were possessed of very extensive estates in the south of Ireland, which had formed part of the grant to Fitz Stephen, to the inheritance of which, Sir Peter Carew would seem to have been entitled.

A learned descendant of the family, Richard Carew, of Antony, speaking of the name, conjectures that it is derived from "*Charru*," an old French word, signifying a plough, but Llhwyd in his additions to Camden's *Britannia*, with greater probability, has adopted a different derivation: viz. "*Kacrew*," a word signifying in the British language, the ramparts of a fortress.

¹ Sir Edmund, Baron of Carew, was knighted at Bosworth Field, 1, Henry VII. He was one of those who relieved Exeter, when besieged by Perkin Warbeck, 13, Henry VII (1497), and was slain at the siege of Terrouenne, as mentioned in the text, and was buried in St. Nicholas' church, at Calais. Being in want of money to furnish himself for this last expedition, he mortgaged Carew Castle and seven manors in Wales, to Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who, taking advantage of the non-payment of the loan at the time prescribed, kept the inheritance to himself.

school, and lodged him with one Thomas Hunt,¹ a draper and alderman of that city, and did put him to school to one Freers,² then master of the grammar school there. And whether it were that he was in fear of the said Freer, for he was counted to be a very hard and cruel master, or whether it were for that he had no affection to his learning, true it is he would never keep his school, but was a daily truant and always ranging: whereof the school-master misliking did oftentimes complain unto the foresaid

In the 3rd of Henry VIII, at the burial of William Courteney, Earl of Devon, Sir Edmond Carew, Baron of Carew, being in complete armour, mounted on a coursier, covered with black cloth, rode through the body of the cathedral church at Exeter, until he came to the choir door, where he alighted from his horse, holding in his right hand the Earl's battle axe with the point downwards. Then he was conducted by two knights (heralds going before them), to the high altar, where he offered up to the bishop the battle axe, and from thence he was conveyed to the vestry.

¹ Thomas Hunt was a person of some consideration in the city of Exeter. He was admitted into the corporation of Exeter about the year 1512 or 13. He served the office of mayor, in 1515, when he is described as "*baker*." He appears among the aldermen or bailiffs, in 1521, when he is called "draper." In 1523, which would seem to be the year preceding the period mentioned in the text, he was selected to take the office of mayor in the room of John Symma, deceased, during the absence of William Hurst, in London. He is now again described as "*baker*." He appears to have served during the whole remaining period of the mayoralty, as William Hurst was mayor the following year.

² We can find no trace of Freers. There was a Grammar School at St. John's Hospital, at Exeter, before the present one. This hospital suffered the same fate as other similar establishments at the dissolution. It was a small foundation consisting of a prior and four brothers, one of whom was the master of the school, and probably Freer was one of these.

Thomas Hunt, his host: upon which complaint, so made, the said Thomas would go, and fend, abroad to seek out the said Peter. And, among many times thus seeking him, it happened that he found him about the walls of the said city, and he, running to take him, the boy climbed up upon the top of one of the highest garrets of a turret of the said wall, and would not, for any request, come down, saying moreover to his host that if he did press too fast upon him he would surely cast himself down headlong over the wall: and then, faith he, "I shall break my neck and thou shalt be hanged, because thou makest me to leap down." His host, being afraid of the boy, departed and left some to watch him, and so to take him, as soon as he came down. But forthwith he sent to Sir William Carew, and did advertise him of this, and of sundry other shrewed parts of his son Peter: who, at his next coming then to Exeter, calling his son before him, tied him in a line, and delivered him to one of his servants to be carried about the town, as one of his hounds, and they led him home to Mohun's Ottery, like a dog. And after that, he being come to Mohun's Ottery, he coupled him to one of his hounds, and so continued him for a time. At length, Sir William, minding to make some further proof of his son, carried him to London, and there did put him to school unto the school-master of Paul's,¹ who being earnestly requested to have some

¹ St. Paul's school was founded by Dr. John Colet, dean of St.

care of this young gentleman, he did his good endeavour therein, nevertheless, he being more desirous of liberty than of learning, was desirous of the one and careless of the other: and do what the school-master could, he in no wise could frame this young Peter to smell to a book, or to like of any schooling. Not long after, Sir William Carew, being again come to London, and desirous to understand how his young son prospered, had conference with the said school-master, who advertised him of the untowardness of his son, and persuaded him to employ him in some other thing, for that he neither loved the school nor cared for learning.

It happened that the said Sir William walking in Paul's, at his then abode in London, he met with a gentleman of his old acquaintance, who then served in the French Court: and after that they had renewed

Paul's, between 1508 and 1512, for the education of 153 children. The first high master was William Lilly, who was appointed by the founder, in 1512, and was succeeded by John Rightwyse, in 1522.

Dr. Colet was the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, knt., twice lord mayor of London. He was born in 1466, and in 1483, was sent to the University of Oxford, where he spent seven years. He left the University when only 19 years of age, and was instituted to the Rectory of Denington, in Suffolk. In 1490, he was also presented to the Rectory of Thyrning, in Huntingdonshire. On the 14th of March, 1494, he was installed in the prebend of Botevant in the cathedral of York. In 1504, was admitted D.D., and on the 5th of May, 1505, was instituted to the prebend of Mora, in the cathedral of St. Paul's, and, in the same month, he was made dean of that church. He died on the 15th of September, 1519, and was buried in St. Paul's. He was a very learned divine and famous preacher, and having no near relation, dedicated the whole of his property to works of piety and charity.

their old familiarity and acquaintance, the said gentleman, seeing this young Peter Carew attending and awaiting upon his father, did ask him what he was, and then, understanding that he was the son of Sir William, and perceiving him to be very forward and of a pregnant wit, asked Sir William whether he would put his son unto him to be brought up in the court of France, promising that if he would so do, he would bring him up and use him like a gentleman, and do as much for him as if he were his own son. Sir William, seeing that he could not frame his son to like of his book, was contented, and did accept the offer. And furnishing his son with apparel, and all other things necessary for a gentleman's page, he delivered him unto the said gentleman, who, for a time, was very dainty and made much of him; but as the young gentleman's apparel was soon worn and spent, so the master's whole¹ love soon waxed cold and faint, and of a page he was made a lackey, being turned out of the chamber to serve in the stable; there as a mulett to attend his master's mule. And so, in the order of a mulett, did attend and serve his master, howbeit, the young boy, having by these means some liberty, and trained up in the company of such as he liked well, he was contented with his estate.

It happened after some time that one Carew of Haccombe,¹ in the county of Devon, Esquire, a kins-

¹ Hot—still in use.

¹ Haccombe was formerly part of the possessions of Jordan de

man to Sir William Carew, they both being cousins-german in the fifth degree, a gentleman of great courage and valour, and desirous to serve and see countries, was, by King Henry VIII, recommended to the French king with his letters of commendation; who, presenting himself to the French king, was received and had entertainment, having the charge of a hundred horsemen. This gentleman, as he was riding to the court, and being come before the court gate there were sundry lackeys and horseboys playing together, and among them, this Peter Carew being one, a boy called out unto him, "Carew Anglois! Carew Anglois!" At which words, the said Carew looked about, and asked who it was that was

Hacombe, from whom it descended through the families of Archdeacon and Talbot, to Courteney. By the marriage of Sir Nicholas Baron Carew, with Ivan, the only daughter and heir of Sir Hugh Courtney, this, with many other manors, passed to the Carews. Sir Nicholas had five sons, the eldest having given offence to his mother, she divided sixteen manors among her younger children. From Nicholas, the second son, descended the Hacombe line. The gentleman referred to in the text, according to "L'Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de Carew" was John Carew, of Hacombe, who is therein stated to have been sent by Henry VIII, to serve the French king, and died at Pavia, where he was buried."

Hacombe is the smallest parish in England, containing only two houses, the manor house, and the parsonage, and enjoys extraordinary privileges. It is not included in any hundred: no officer, civil or military, has right to take cognizance of any proceeding in this parish: and by a royal grant it was exempted from all duties and taxes in consequence of some noble services done by the ancestors of the Carews. The rector of the parish has also great privileges. He is archpriest, and it is said, may claim the right of wearing lawn sleeves, of sitting next the bishop, and is under the visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury alone. — *Prince's Worthies of Devon.*

called Carew Anglois, which is to say, the English Carew; and then perceiving that it was one of the muleteer boys called him, who was then all too ragged, and very simply appalled; and he examined what he was, whose son, and what was his name, who answered him, that he was an English boy, the son of Sir William Carew, of Devon, knight, and that his name was Peter; and did serve first as the page, but now as the muleteer of a certain French gentleman in the court, who brought him out of England. Then the said Mr. "Accume" Carew, having good natural affections to this his kinsman, commanded one of his men to take the charge of the mule, which this Peter before kept, and, taking this Peter with him, went throughout the court, and sought the gentleman, whom, when he had found, he so tasked him, and so reproved him for the hard handling of this young Peter, that he was contented to forgo his page, and so seek a new lackey. Immediately, this young gentleman by his kinsman is new appalled, and for a space trained up under his kinsman in the court of France like a gentleman, and in riding and other such exercises as most meet for one of service.

Not long after, the wars began between Charles the Emperor, and the French king, whose name was
¹and the French king minding to give an attempt to the recovery and conquest of the city of Pavia, in Italy, sendeth a great army thither,

¹ Francis I succeeded to the Crown, 1515.

and among others, this Carew, of Haccombe was one, who, in his journey, travelling thitherwards, died. Then a nobleman of France named the Marquis of Salewe, who was of great acquaintance and familiarity with the aforfaid Carew, knowing by that means this young Peter, and the forward disposition of him, took him and gave him entertainment, and so he attended him, and was at the sieg of Pavia, at which the faid French king was taken, and this marquis, with a shot of a gun, slain. ¹

Then this young gentleman perceiving fortune to frown upon the French side, and the army being disperfed, he could have no longer entertainment, he getteth himself to the emperor's camp, and there found such favour, that the Prince of Orange fancied and received him: and received him into his entertainment, and considered him very liberally. And this Peter liking well of his service, continued with this lord in his court about a year and a half, and until the faid prince died; and after his death, continued with the Princefs, who gave him very good and honourable entertainment. ²

¹ 23rd February, 1525—6.

² Philibert de Chalons, son of John, by Philiberta of Luxemburg, succeeded his father, 1502. Captain-General of the Spaniards, 1523. Viceroy of Naples, 1528—30. Slain at the siege of Florence, where he commanded the forces of the Emperor Charles V, 1530. He was never married, and his only sister Claudia being the wife of Henry of Nassau, he made her son Renatus, or René his heir, reserving the "usufruct" of the Principality to his mother Philiberta. This, therefore, must have been the princess mentioned in the text.

At length this young gentleman being now grown to ripe years, and somewhat languishing in desire to see his friends and country, maketh his humble suit to the princess for her lawful favour and leave so to do; who so favoured him, that at the first she was not willing thereunto; for so honest was his conditions, and so courteous was his behaviour, and so forward in all honest exercises, and especially in all prowess and virtue, that he had stolen the hearts, and gained the love of all persons unto him, and especially of the princess. Nevertheless, in the end she yielded unto his request, and provided all things necessary and meet for the furnishing of him, not only as one born of an honourable lineage, but also as one departing from a noble princess.

First, therefore, she recommended him by her letters to King Henry the VIIIth, giving him such recommendations as both he deserved, and the king well liked. The like letters also she sent by him to Sir William Carew. Then she appointed two of her gentlemen, with their servants, to accompany and attend him home; and, at his departure, gave him a chain of gold about his neck, and store of money in his purse, promising him that if he would return again to her, he should have such a gentleman's entertainment, as he should be well contented and like well of; for which her great offers, and many courtesies, when this young gentleman had given his most humble thanks, he took his leave and departed.

As soon as he was arrived in England, he, with his company repaired forthwith to the court,—the king being then at Greenwich,—and there they presented themselves before him, and made delivery of their letters, which, when the king had perused and read he very thankfully accepted them, and forthwith examineth this young Peter Carew, and finding him to be answerable to the prince's report and commendations, taketh good liking and joy of him, and receiveth him into his service, and maketh him one of his henchmen. And the Prince's men he commandeth to be entertained, and at their departure gave them five hundred crowns, as also his letters of commendations and thanks to the prince.

This young gentleman being thus placed, and in favour with the king, desireth leave that he might visit his father, whom he had not seen in six years, and unto whom he had also letters from the prince : which being obtained, he, with his aforesaid company, rode to Mohun's Ottery, where his father dwelt, and being come to the house, and understanding his father and mother to be within, went into the house without further delay, and finding them sitting together in a parlour, forthwith, without any words, in most humble manner, kneeled down before them, and asked their blessing, and therewith presented unto him the Prince of Orange's letters.

The said Sir William and his lady, at this sudden sight were astonished, much musing what it should mean that a young gentleman so well appalled, and

so well accompanied, should thus prostrate himself before them; for they thought nothing less than of their son Peter, who having been away from them about six years, and never heard of, did think verily that he had been dead and forlorn. But Sir William having read the prince's letters, and so persuaded that he was his son Peter, were not a little joyful, but received him with all gladness, as also welcomed the gentlemen, whom he and his wife entertained in the best manner they could. After a few days spent at Mohun's Ottery, the said Peter prayed his father's leave to return to the court, and the gentlemen to their country, whom he not only conducted onwards in their journey, but also liberally rewarded the gentlemen, and by them sent his most humble letters of thanks to the prince's.

Peter Carew being returned to the court, the king had great delight and pleasure in him, for he had not only the French tongue, which was as ripe in him as his own natural English tongue, but was also very witty, full of life, and altogether given to all such honest exercises as do appertain to a gentleman, and especially in riding, for therein he had a special love and desire.

After that he had been a henchman about two years, and he being above the age of a gentleman of that service, was removed from a henchman and made one of the privy chamber. And the king being minded on a time to go to Calais, and there to meet with the French king, would oftentimes talk with this Peter Carew of the French Court, who could

and did answer so full in everything, and could name every nobleman in France, in what credit and countenance he was in the court, that the king the more he talked with him the more he delighted in him. And therefore when he passed over to Calais this Peter Carew was one of the chiefest about the king, and was one of the gentlemen who was appointed to attend when the great Lord Admiral of France¹ was made Knight of the Garter. And such was his behaviour there at that time, that the French king gave him great commendation and praise.²

After the king his return into England about two years, being the xxviith year of his reign, the Lord William Howard³ was sent into Scotland to King James the fifth, to offer and present unto him the Order of the Garter, and among others, this gentleman, Peter Carew, was one appointed to attend in this service, who behaved himself in such good order in the court there, the Scots persuaded themselves, by reason of his ripenes in the French tongue, and his behaviour after the French manner, that he had been some French lord, for, of all others, he was most

¹ Philip de Chabot, Lord of Byron, Count of Nieublanché, Admiral of France, 1526—41; Governor of Picardy, 1527; of Burgundy, 1527. Elected Knight of the Garter 1532. Deprived and imprisoned 1541; restored, 1541; died 1542.

² 11th October, 1532.

³ Eldest son of Thomas, 2nd Duke of Norfolk, by his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Hugh Tilney. Sent ambassador to Scotland 1534, to France 1541. In 1553 he was made Deputy of Calais, and in the following year created Lord Howard of Effingham, and, about the same time, Lord Admiral of England, Ireland, and Wales, and Knight of the Garter. In 1572 he was appointed Lord Privy Seal, but died on 11th January, 1572—3.

praised and commended, which being reported to the king his master, he was at his return well commended and rewarded of him.

About three years after this a marriage was concluded between the king and the Lady Anne of Cleves, namely in the xxxist year of the king's reign, and for the receiving of her at Calais, and for the wafting of her from thence into England, was appointed Sir William Fitzwilliams, Earl of Southampton, and Lord Great Admiral of England.¹ And among sundry other lusty gentlemen meet for this service, this Peter Carew was one, who so well acquitted himself, that he reaped that praise and commendation as he did well deserve.

Not long after this the wars were begun between the Turk and the King of Hungary,² and upon that occasion the most common speeches in the court were of the great Turk,³ and of the royalty of his court, and what a mighty prince he was, and how that he

¹ Sir William Fitzwilliam, third son of Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwark, by Lucy, daughter and heir of John Nevil, Marquis of Montacute. Sir William was knighted for his service at Tournay; made Vice-Admiral of England 1520, Ambassador to France 1521, Admiral of the Fleet 1523, Captain of Guisnes 1524, Treasurer of the Household 1525, and again Ambassador to France, as he was also in 1555. He was K.G. and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Lord High Admiral 1536, Earl of Southampton 1537, and Lord Privy Seal 1541. Died 1542. He married Mabel, eldest daughter of Henry Lord Clifford, and sister to Henry, first Earl of Cumberland and Westmoreland, by whom he had issue two sons who both died before him.

² Ferdinand, king of the Romans, brother of Charles V.

³ Soliman I, surnamed the Magnificent, succeeded to the throne 1520.

had conquered the strong city of Buda, in Hungary ; which so pierced the young lusty gentlemen of the court, that many of them were desirous to travel and see the same. But none were found, nor more desirous, than this Peter Carew, whose chief desire was to travel countries, and to see strange fashions. And, conferring herein with a kinsman of his, then also serving in the court, named John Champernoun, the son to Sir Philip Champernoun,¹ and the Lady Katherine, his wife, and aunt to the said Peter, who, as soon as he had heard of the motion, the other was no more willing than he was ready and forward, they thinking every one day to be ten before the journey was taken in hand. Wherefore, many and sundry conferences had between them, they agreed the matter should be broken to the king, and therewith they to make their humble suits for his lawful leave an favour.

The king accepting of their suit, did like well of their minds, but nothing liked to adventure them in so perilous a journey, wherein more fear was to be thought of loss to their persons than profit of their travels, and therefore he would not, at the first, grant thereunto. Nevertheless, by often suits and sundry mediations, the king, at length considering the noble minds of the gentlemen, was contented to grant their

¹ Sir Philip Champernoun of Modbury, in the county of Devon, Knight, married Katherine, daughter of Sir Edmund Carew, (the last Baron Carew) of Mohun's Ottery, Knight, by Katherine, daughter and heir of Sir William Hudesfield of Shellingford, Knight. Sir Philip served the office of Sheriff of Devon in the 18 Henry VIII., (1527.)

requests. Whereupon they prepared all things meet and necessary for so long a journey; towards which, whatsoever they procured among their friends, none was more bountiful unto them than the king himself; who not only furnished them with money, but also gave them letters of commendation to sundry noblemen as well in France as in Italy.

Wherefore, in the next spring time following, and having all things in readines meet for their journey, they, with one Mr. Henry Knolles, took their leave of the king, and of their friends, and passed over into France, and from thence into Italy; and having spent the whole summer in travelling through those two realms, they minded to travel into Venice, and there to rest all the next winter, which they did. And then, having procured a safe conduct of the Turk's ambassador there, they, in the next spring, leaving Mr. Henry Knolles, and others who had accompanied them so far, took shipping and passed from thence to Arrogose,¹ the same being the course of about five hundred leagues, and being there arrived, they passed by land to Constantinople, which is about a thousand miles.

And although they had a sufficient safe conduct from the Turk's ambassador in Venice, yet they were

¹ Ragusa, a city of Dalmatia, situated on the Gulf of Venice. The large ships called "Argosies," mentioned by Shakespeare in his "Merchant of Venice" (Act 1, scene 1), are supposed to have derived their name from this place. Ricaut, in his "Maxims of Turkish Polity," speaking of them, says, "they were corruptly so denominated from "Ragosies," i. e. ships of Ragusa. Although to some extent an inde-

examined what they were, and what business they had there to do: who being loath to be known to be gentlemen, and that their travelling should be only to see the Turk's court, for so they might have put themselves in great peril, they alleged that they were merchants, and came to seek for alum,¹ under which colour they remained there about six weeks, or two months, and in that time they visited the Turk's

pendent state, Ragusa, at this time, paid tribute to the Porte. It was a sort of neutral ground and outwork of Christianity against the Infidel, affording refuge and hospitality to all who were oppressed and sought protection within its walls. It was, moreover, the centre of intercourse between Western Europe and Constantinople. Sultan Selim II. used to say that he received more correct information respecting the affairs of the Christians, through the merchants of Ragusa, than from all his pashas and sandjacks. It was also the usual route to the Turkish capital. Ambassadors to the Porte from Venice, France, and other Christian countries, after a short navigation across the Adriatic, landed at Ragusa, and proceeded thence by land to Constantinople.

There was a ship in the English navy in 1545 called the "Arrogasye," or "Aragozia," in which Admiral Sir Thomas Clere hoisted his flag. See *State Papers*, vol. i, p. 799 & 810.

¹ In the middle ages, alum was almost wholly procured from Egypt and the east. There was a manufactory at Edessa or Orfa, in Mesopotamia, within the Turkish district of Rocha, whence is derived the name of "Roche Alum," still in use. But it having been found in several places in Italy, particularly at La Tolfa, Pope Pius II., desirous of monopolising the trade, in the middle of the fifteenth century, prohibited the introduction of oriental alum.

In the reign of Edward VI, alum, or at least indications of alum had been found in Ireland. In the instructions given to Sir James Crofts when sent as Deputy into Ireland in 1550, (Lamb. M.S. 611, fo. 81.) is the following paragraph: "Our sayd Deputy shall also with thadvise aforesayd (of the Council), make search for the mine of alum, and cause the same to be tryed to perfection, and being founde good, then to stay the same, as it may be wrought for vs, and employed to the best purpose and most profit." A few years

court, and saw him twice or thrice in his greatest royalty and glory, as also entered into acquaintance with the French king's ambassador, who had great affection to them both, but specially to the said Peter Carew by reason that his French tongue was so perfect, as also his behaviour tasting after the French manner. Howbeit they, being not able to dissemble their own estates, were in the end had in great suspicion, and like to have been taken and apprehended, had not the French Ambassador stood their good friend, for he did not only advise them of the same, but, also helped to convey them both away in a merchant shipp, then there in readiness to pass away from thence into Venice. And with them they carried a gentleman of Spain who had been a captive, or prisoner, in Turkey about six years, and whom, by means, they recovered or redeemed.

At their arrival into Venice they new apparelled this Spaniard, and bestowed great charges upon his promise of repayment to be made with great thanks, but he having liberty and all things at will, stole

afterwards it had been discovered in England, for in the State Paper Office is the draft of an agreement between Queen Elizabeth and one Cornelius de Vos, dated 1565, for working all manner of mines, or ores of alum, coperas, or the liquors of them, specially within the Isle of Wight. It was not, however, manufactured to any great extent in this country until the end of the century. Sir Thomas Chaloner, travelling in Italy in 1595, observed that the mineral from which it was made abounded on his own estate at Whitby, in Yorkshire. He, therefore, engaged Italian workmen for the purpose of testing his discovery, but so great was the jealousy shown by the Pope, that it is said he was obliged to get them on board his ship in casks. Alum has since been found near Glasgow.

away from them without taking leave or giving once "graunde mercyes."

At their being in Venice they were advertised how that the King of Hungary was lying at the siege of Buda, which standeth upon the river of Danubius, and which the Turk, about two years past, had recovered from the said King. And they, being desirous to see the manner of these wars, and the manner of that country, directed their journey thitherwards. And in their journey they went unto the Duke of Seravia, who, before, at their first being in Italy, had received by them letters in their commendation from King Henry the VIIIth, and he did very honourably receive, welcome, and entertain them, calling them his fellows, and using them as his companions, for he had a yearly pension of the King of England.

From thence they went to Milan, where they had the like entertainment of the Marquis de Gashayes, who was also a pensioner of King Henry. And from thence they went straight unto Buda, where King Ferdinand lay then at the siege. Within this city was the wife and the son¹ of Vavoida, who made the claim to the same city, and in whose behalf the Turk recovered it. And with them, within, was a mighty army, who made sundry affails upon the host of Ferdinand, as also, in the end, the Turk, with a great army, came to raise the siege, wherewith the said

¹ John or Stephen, son of John Sepuse, of Waywode, Transylvania, born 1540, died 1571.

King, being not able to prevail, removed the siege and departed.

And then, there being no further service to be done, they went to Vienna in Austria, and there they met with one Mr. Wingfield, their old friend and acquaintance, but they continued not many days together, before they fell all sick in the bloody flux, in the which disease Wingfield and Champernoun died. Immediately whereupon this Peter Carew, having the disease upon him, took his horse and travelled back unto Venice, and there stayed for a time until he recovered his health, and then returned homewards, and came into England.

Immediately upon his arrival, he rode to the court, and there presented himself before the king, and recounted unto him the whole course and success of his journey. But the king first demanding for John Champernoun, and understanding of his death, was very sorry for the same, and yet having this gentleman of whom he made account, so was the less sorrowful, as he was the more glad and willing to hear of the news of his journey. Whereupon he reported unto the king the whole order of his journey as it was, the orders of France, the manners of Italy, his entertainment there, the government and state of Venice, the majesty of the Turk's Court, the wars of the Hungarians, the description of Vienna, with many other things; but nothing was more liked than the description of the Turk's Court and the manner of his wars, which the more rare, the more delectable

and pleafant they were both to the king and nobility to be heard. When he had faid all that he could, the king and nobility liked fo well thereof, that from time to time they would be ftill talking with him, and efpecially the king himfelf, who had fuch a liking of this Peter, that he much delighted to talk with him. And by that means the faid Peter continued ftill in the court, and fpent his time in all fuch honeft exercifes as do appertain to a gentleman, and wherein he excelled. For in finging, vaulting, and efpecially for riding, he was not inferior to any in the court, and whatfoever matches were made for any of thefe exercifes, he for the moft part was always one.

About a year or more after his return, the king joining with the Emperor, fent his defiance to the French King and proclaimed open wars againft him, and forthwith fent over Sir John Wallop,¹ with 6000 men, and with him were fent this Peter and his elder brother, Sir George Carew: the elder being the lieutenant of the horfemen,² but the younger made

¹ Sir John Wallop, knight, 1512; Lieutenant at Calais, 1530; gentleman of the bedchamber, Great Marshal of Calais, 1526; Ambassador in France, 1533-40, again 1541; Captain of Guisnes, 1541-46; Knight of the Garter, 1543; died, 1551. He accepted the command of this expedition in a letter from Guisnes, addreffed to Thomas Wriothesley, Secretary of State, afterwards (1547), Earl of Southampton, dated 12th of July, 1543.—Vide State Papers, vol. ix, p. 444.

² Lieut.-General of the Horfe. Sir George Carew was not only brave in the war but expert in all knightly exercifes. Thomas Alen, chaplain to the Earl of Shrewsbury, writing to that nobleman, from London, on 24th of May, 1516, fays: Upon Monday and Tuesday laft

captain of 100 footmen: and these he clothed and apparelled at his own charges all in black, and they were named the black band. Both these brethren did right noble and good service.

As they were marching from Calais to Landerfay,¹ they were to pass by the town of Tyrroine, and being come near the fame, a trumpet came out of the town² declaring unto the general, that there were certain gentlemen within the town which were ready and offered themselves, so many for so many, with sharp staffs on horseback, to do some feats of arms, and to try the valour of the English gentlemen. The general liking very well the offer, called forth all his captains and advertiseth them of this message, but as all men are not all one woman's children, no more are they all of one disposition, but, as the common proverb

there was a great jousting at Greenwich; the King's Grace, my Lord of Suffolk, my Lord of Essex, Sir George Carew, were challengers; Sir William Kingston, Sir Giles Capel, — Sedley, with divers others, were defenders.—(Lodges Illus., vol. i, p. 19.) And again we are told, he was one of the challengers at Tilt, Tourney, and Barrier, at Durham House, 32, Henry VIII, (1540.) In the same year he was one of the King's Councillors, of Calais, and Lieutenant of Ruisbank In 1543, he was spoken of by Sir John Wallop as "a very good man of war, and as mete to do his highness service as any other that is comme at this time."—(State Papers, vol. ix., p. 455.) He was also a distinguished Naval Captain, and Vice-Admiral, under Dudley, Visct. Lisle, in 1545, in which year he was drowned in the *Mary Rose*.—Vide page 33 and Appendix, B.

¹ Landrecy.

² It appears from a letter from Sir John Wallop, to the Lords of the Council, that the challenge on this occasion proceeded from him. As this letter gives very full details of the proceedings before Tero-neune, and also of the passage of Arms, mentioned in the text, it is given in Appendix. A.

is, "so many heads so many wits," for some were of the mind that they thought it not good to put in peril the loss of any captain or gentleman, in and for a vain bravery, when a further service of necessity was to be done. Nevertheless, Sir George Carew and this gentleman, were of so hearty minds and great courage that they requested the contrary. And forthwith one Shelley and one Calveley, with other gentlemen offered, six for six, to answer the challenge the next morning, 40 courses a man, and they were no more forward than the general was willing: and so the trumpet was willed to return with his answer, that the offer of the French gentlemen was accepted.

According to which conclusion, both parties, on the next morning, met in a place for the purpose appointed, where this Peter shewed what valour there was in him; for in the first course which he rode he took such advantage upon his adversary, that he had almost overthrown both horse and man, and in the second course he broke his staff upon his adversary. And so, this challenge performed, they went forth in their journey and came to Landerfay, and there joining themselves unto the emperor's army, they laid siege to the town, and there continued about four months until they removed the siege and went to Cambrafia,¹ where the French king was then, and with whom they thought and determined verily to have joined the battle. But the French king minding

¹ Cambray, capital town of Cambresis, a district of Flanders.

nothing less, secretly, in the night, raised his camp, and departed away with as much speed as he could. In the morning, his flight being discovered, great pursuits were made after him. In which chase Sir George Carew, being more forward than circumspect, was taken prisoner. But this gentleman, Peter his brother, took a French gentleman, whom he carried with him unto Calais, minding to use him for the redeeming of his brother, Sir George. And when he was come to Calais, there he new apparelled this gentleman, his prisoner, and concluded with him that he should either send home Sir George Carew, or to pay him certain hundreds of crowns for his ransom, at a certain day then between them prefixed, which the said gentleman, upon his faith, promised to perform, and was so set at liberty; but as he little regarded his faith, so as slenderly did he perform his promise, to his reproach and shame, as in the end it fell out.

The next year following, or very shortly after, being the year of our lord 1544, the emperor and the king continuing their wars against the French king, they appointed to invade France again. The king therefore sent over two armies, the one into Boulogne under the conduct of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk,¹ who was the general until the king himself came in person. The other unto Montreuil,

¹ Sir Charles Brandon, Viscount Lisle, 1513; Duke of Suffolk 1514; married Mary, sister of King Henry VIIIth, and Dowager of Louis XIIth of France 1515; Great Master of the Household and Lord President 1540-1545; died 22nd August, 1545.

under the conduct of the Duke of Norfolk¹ and Sir John Ruffel,² then Privy Seal. Under the Duke of Suffolk, among others, was this gentleman, Peter Carew, he being the Captain, and having the charge of a band of horsemen, and who did in that service acquit himself very well, being as forward as the foremost, and who was one of the first that entered into Boulogne. At which time, also, he had committed unto him the charge and custody of the Castle of Hardelow, which is about five miles from out of Boulogne. And he, marching thitherward to take the charge thereof, the Frenchmen who kept the same being advertised of his coming, and hearing of his name, did forsake the same and fled away; and so, at his coming thither, he found the castle desolate. At his being, and during his abode therein, which was until the king returned into England, he kept as liberal a house and as great a port as never more bountifully in all his life.

It chanced that at his being at this castle the Duke of Suffolk sent for him to come to speak with him, who forthwith repaired unto him, leaving the

¹ Thomas Lord Howard created Knight of the Garter 1510; Lord High Admiral 1513-1525; Earl of Surrey 1514-1524; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1520-1522; Lord High Treasurer 1522-1546; third Duke of Norfolk 1524-54; attainted 1547; restored 1553; died 1554.

² Sir John Russell, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber 1513; Knight of the Body 1532; Comptroller of the Household 1537; K.G. 1539; Lord Russel 1539; Lord High Admiral 1540-42; Lord Privy Seal 3rd December, 1542; Lord High Steward 1547; Earl of Bedford 1550; died 1554.

whole charge, as well of the castle as of his men, unto his lieutenant, named Richard Reynoldes, of West Ogwell, in the county of Devon, Esquire.¹ And whilst he was with the duke, occasion so served that the duke requested him to go unto the king in a certain message, who, according to his commandment, went to the king, unto whom, when he had done his message, the king asked him why he came from his charge, and what warrant he had for the same; who answered, that the duke, being the general of the field, had done it. To whom the king said that that was no sufficient warrant for him, "for," saith he, "learn this for a rule: so long as we ourselves are present there is no other general but ourselves, neither can any man depart from his charge without our special warrant. And therefore you being thus come hither without our commandment, you are not able to answer for the same if we should minister that which by law we may do." At which words the said Peter, humbling himself, desired pardon.

The king, after the conquest of the town,² having set all things in good order, returned into England, whom among others this gentleman did attend.

It was not long afterwards but that the king was

¹ Son of John Renolds, or Renall, by Margaret or Margery, daughter of William Fortescue of Wood, Esq. He married Agnes, daughter of John Southcott of Bovie Tracie, Harl. MS.S., fo. 118.

² Boulogne surrendered on the 14th September, 1544, and the king entered in triumph on the 18th. It was again given up to the French in April 1550.

28. *Appointed Captain of a Ship of War.* [1444.

advertised how that the French king was preparing a great navy, minding to scour the seas, as, also, invade some part of England. The king, nothing liking such news, and doubting the worst, commanded a certain number of his ships to be, with all speed, made ready and prepared, and to be forthwith sent unto the seas. Of which one very tall ship, and well appointed, namely : was appointed to this Peter Carew, who was made captain thereof; and attending the Lord Admiral,¹ did keep the seas all that winter, which, being for the most part foul, and full of storms and tempests, their service was the more painful, and yet to no great purpose, for that the enemy kept himself still within the harbour. And then the admiral, perceiving all things to be quiet, returned home.

The next summer then following the French king sent his galleys to the seas, whereof the king having some foreknowledge, commanded a navy of forty-five ships to be likewise sent unto the seas, of which one called "Francisco Hardado,"² a Venetian

¹ Sir John Dudley, son of Edmund Dudley, speaker of the House of Commons in the last reign, by Elizabeth daughter and heir of Edw. Grey, Viscount Lisle. Sir John Dudley was created Viscount Lisle 12th March, 1542; Warden of the Marches of Scotland 1542; Lord Admiral 26th January, 1543; Privy Councillor 23rd April, 1543; K.G. 1543; Captain of Boulogne 1544-5; Earl of Warwick 1547; Duke of Northumberland, 1551; beheaded 22nd August, 1553.

² It appears from the following extract from a letter from the Lord Lisle, dated at Portsmouth on the 7th August, that Carew's first appointment was to the "Mistress." The words are these: "Master Secretary, after my veray hartie recommendacions hauyng

ship, was appointed unto this Peter Carew, the same being very well appointed both with men and munitions. And so made their admiral the Viscount Lisle, who was lately returned from Boulogne;¹ they ranged and scoured the seas; and being rested over near unto Newhaven, they had espied the French

seane your Treas. of the vith of this present, whereby amongst other thynges it apperith, that the Kynges maiesties pleasour is I shuld put the Booke of the names of Shippe and Capitaignes in other fourme, and to place every Captaine according as they were appointed at such tyme as his maiestie dyd place Peter Carewe to the "Mystres," and also to set vpon euery shippe the Capitaigne's name, that is or then was, although they be deed or goon, with allso a titlyng vppon the same shippes of such men's names as I thynk mete to sarve. As touching thalteracion of the Capitaignes, I require you to signifie vnto his highnes that there is no alteracion sithens his maiesties last appointment of them, saving that Peter Carewe, when he perceaved that we were like to fight with the French armye at ther being here, and remembering that he was in a shipp hable to bourd one of the greatest of thenimies, and what might be thought in hym to forsake such a shipp (of hymself whereas before he did desyre thother) with peteous mone besought me, that he might not be shifted oute of his Shipp, for that he trusted to do his maiestie good sarvice in her. So that perceaving hym so loth to depart from the saied Shipp, and the time beyng then veray shorte to make any alteracion, I thought it best to let euery Captaine remayne in ther former places, (wherof then I did send his maiestie wourd by Sir Thomas Clere) and so doth thole number of ships remayne at this present without chaungyng of any Capitaign, except onely such as be goon sick, and one that is deed." S. P. O. Dom. Cor.

Two days afterwards, however, he sent a list of the names of the "Shippes, with ther Capitaignes," in which we find Peter Carewe's name as Captain of the "Great Venizian," a ship of 700 tons burden, and carrying 450 men. This probably is the same ship as that referred to in the text. The same document shews the "Mystres," which was a ship of only 450 tons, and carrying 250 men, to be under the charge of Admiral William Tyrrell. *State Papers*, vol. i., p. 810.

¹ Recalled from Boulogne January 1545.

king's gallies, which were in number about twenty-one or twenty-two. Then this gentleman, who was one of the first that had the fight of them, was also one of the first who desired to give the onset. But the Lord Admiral, and all the residue, being of the like minds, did all, with one consent, give the adventure. The fight between them became very hot and sharp, and the victory doubtful, and wherein fortune seemed to favour and frown upon both parties alike; for sometimes the weather was calm, and then the gallies had the advantage, sometimes the wind blew a good gale, and then the ships prevailed. Twice in two days either party assailed the other, and cruel were the fights on both sides, but, in the end, the seas waxing somewhat rough, and the gallies not brooking the same, retired to the shores, reaping the loss, and leaving the victory. And the English navy, being all of ships of great burden, being loath to adventure after the gallies upon the flats and shallows, did return, and come back again, into Portsmouth. And forthwith the Lord Admiral landed and resorted unto the king, who then lay there languishing and listening to hear news of his navy, to whom he then recounted the effect of all that service.

Not long after, the seas being waxed calm, and the weather very fair, the French gallies having wind and weather at will, they would also needs range and scour the seas, and finding them clear, and the English navy to be laid up in harbour, they came along all

the south coast of England, even to the Isle of Wight, where some of them landed and did much harm; and some of them came unto the haven of Portsmouth, and there rowed up and down, there being never a ship at that instant in that readines, nor any such wind to serve if they had been in readines to impeach them.

The king, who upon the news hereof was come to Portsmouth, he fretted, and his teeth stood on an edge, to see the bravery of his enemies to come so near his nose, and he not able to encounter with them. Wherefore, immediately the beacons were set on fire throughout the whole coasts, and forthwith such was the resort of the people as were sufficient to guard the land from the entering of the Frenchmen. Likewise, commandments were sent out for all the king's ships, and all other ships of war which were at London, Quyneborowe, or elsewhere, that they should, with all speed possible, make haste and come to Portsmouth, which things were accordingly performed.

The Frenchmen perceiving that they could do no good by tarrying there, departed again to the seas. The king, as soon as his whole fleet was come together, willeth them to set all things in order, and to go to the seas; which things being done, and every ship cross-failed, and every captain knowing his charge. It was the king's pleasure to appoint Sir George Carew to be Vice Admiral of that journey, and had appointed unto him a ship named the "Mary

Rofe," which was as a fair ship, as strong, and as well appointed as none better in the realm. And at their departure, the king dined aboard with the Lord Admiral in his ship, namely, the "Great Henry,"¹ and was there served by the Lord Admiral, Sir George Carew, this gentleman, Peter Carew, and their uncle Sir Gawen Carew,² with such others only as were appointed to that voyage and service. The king being at dinner, willed some one to go up to the top of the ship, and see whether he could see any thing at the seas. The word was no sooner spoken but that Peter Carew was as forward, and forthwith climbeth up to the top of the ship, and there sitting, the king asked of him what news, who told him that he had sight of three or four ships, but, as he thought, they were merchants. But it was not long but he had espied a great number, and then he cried out to the king there was, as he thought, a large fleet of men-of-war. The king supposing them to be the French men-of-war, as they were indeed, willed the board to be taken up, and every man to go to his ship, as also a long boat to come and carry him on land. And first he hath secret talk with the Lord Admiral, and then he hath the like with Sir George Carew, and at his departure from him, took his chain from his neck

¹ The Henry Grace à Dieu.

² Sir Gawen Carew was the youngest son of Sir Edmund Baron Carew, of Mohuns Ottery. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, and widow of Sir Henry Guildeford, K.G. She died in 1558. Sir Gawen was sheriff of Devon, 2 Edward VIth, (1548). Was attainted and restored, vide Appendix E. Died 1583.

with a great whistle of gold pendant to the same, and did put it about the neck of the said Sir George Carew, giving him also, therewith, many good and comfortable words.

The king then took a boat and rowed to the land, and every other captain went to his ship appointed unto him. Sir George Carew being entered into his ship, he commanded every man to take his place, and the sails to be hoisted; but the same was no sooner done, but that the "Mary Rose" began to heel, that is to say, lean on the one side. Sir Gawen Carew being then in his own ship, and seeing the same, called for the master of his ship, and told him thereof, and asked him what it meant, who answered that if she did heel she was liked to be cast away. Then the said Sir Gawen passing by the "Mary Rose," called out to Sir George Carew, asking him how he did, who answered that he had a sort of knaves whom he could not rule. And it was not long after but that the said "Mary Rose," thus heeling more and more, was drowned with seven hundred men which were in her, whereof very few escaped.

It chanced unto this gentleman, as the common proverb is,—the more cooks the worse potage, he had in his ship a hundred marines, the worst of them being able to be a master in the best ship within the realm; and these so maligned and disdained one the other, that refusing to do that which they should

do, were careless to do that which was most needful and necessary, and so contending in envy, perished in forwardness.¹

The king, this meanwhile, stood on the land, and saw this tragedy, as also the lady, the wife of Sir George Carew,² who with that fight fell into a founding (swooning). The king, being oppressed with sorrow of every side, comforted her, and thanked God for the other, hoping that of a hard beginning, there would follow a better ending. And notwithstanding this loss the service appointed went forward, as soon as wind and weather would serve, and the residue of the fleet, being about the number of one hundred and five sails, took the seas.

The Frenchmen perceiving the same, like as a sort of sheep running into the fold, they shifted away and got them into their harbours, thinking it better to lie there in a safe skin, than to encounter with them of whom they should little win.

The Lord Admiral finding the seas all clear, and very loath to return without doing of some service to the acquittal of the former braveries of the Frenchmen, did, by the counsel of one Roybodo, direct his course to the bay of Treport, being promised by

¹ An attempt was made to raise this ship, for the particulars of which, and the result, see Appendix B.

² Sir George Carew married twice. First, Thomasine, daughter of Sir Thomas Pollard; and secondly, Mary, daughter of Henry Norreys, and sister of Baron Norreys of Rycote. His widow afterwards married Sir Arthur Champernown. See note, 1, p. 54.

the said Roybodo, that there was good service to be done to recompense the Frenchmen. As soon as they were come into the bay, and being known to the whole fleet that they should there land and to do some service, it was who could first set foot on land. The foremost in that service was one John Courteney, the son of Sir William Courteney, of Powderham, in the County of Devon, Knight,¹ and then captain of a ship named .² This man climbing up the cliff or rock, in a certain narrow foot path, recovered first the top of the hill, and there set up his ensigne, and next after him followed this gentleman, Peter Carew, and so then a great number. The French who before stood upon the cliffs and saw the fleet, seemed to make a great show of some great mat-

¹ Sir William Courteney, of Powderham Castle, was descended from the ancient and princely house of Courteney, Barons of Okehampton, and Earls of Devon. He married, first, Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Edgcombe, of Cotehele, in Cornwall, knight, by whom he had issue; George, who married Katherine, only daughter of Sir George St. Leger, of Aunery, in Devon, knight, and dying in his father's life-time, left a son, William, who succeeded his grandfather at Powderham, and was the ancestor of the present Earl of Devon; Sir Piers Courteney who was sheriff of Devon, 1549, (see note 2, p. 47), and two other sons. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Sir John Gainsford, knight, by whom he had issue, (with other sons and daughters) John Courteney, of Ottery St. Mary, mentioned in the text. By her Will, dated the 7th, and proved the 12th of February, 1572, she gave the whole of her property to this son.

² Captain John Courteney's name does not appear in the list of ships and their captains, transmitted in the letter of the Lord Admiral to Paget, dated the 9th August, 1545. (State Papers, vol. i. p. 808), but the name of William Courteney is found as the captain of the "Mary James." Probably the discrepancy in the christian name may arise from a mistake of Hooker.

ters ; but the Englishmen were not so soon on the land to go, as they were in haste to run away. Not far from their landing was the town of Treport, which, forthwith, was spoiled, the country preyed, and all the French ships in the harbour burned ; when the country was left deserted of the people, and spoiled of their goods, every man was commanded to retire, and return to their ships.¹

The Lord Admiral who, both at this time, as also before, had seen the good service of this gentleman, Peter Carew, and of a great part whereof he himself was *testis oculatis* ; and considering the great valour and prowess which was in him, called for him and would have dubbed him knight, the same of right (as his lordship then said) to him for his good deserts and service appertaining. This gentleman, humbling and abasing himself, made sundry excuses, and among others, alleged that he had an uncle in that place, who had served the prince in all such places as he had, and that he, if any, had best deserved it, as his lordship well knew it. The Lord Admiral witnessing the same to be true, seemed to mislike with himself for his forgetfulness herein, called for him also. And then they both being before him, he gave them great commendations and praises for their services, as also persuaded them to continue in the same, and so with the sword he dubbed them, and with the girdle of

¹ 2 September, 1545.

chivalry he honoured them with the Order of Knighthood. This done, the whole fleet hoisted their sails, and returned to Portsmouth.

And here it is to be noted by the way of the nobility of this Sir Peter Carew, who, seeing the death and loss of his elder and only brother, and he as next heir then to succeed into his inheritance, many a man would have given over the service, and have gone home to enter into the possession of those great livelihoods, as which were then left unto him. Notwithstanding, he, preferring the service of his prince, the doing of his duty, and by his good endeavour to purchase credit and honour, never made account of any such thing, but followeth to perform the service committed unto him, which in the end turned to his great credit and commendation.

As soon as the Lord Admiral was come into Portsmouth, he forthwith dispatched this Sir Peter Carew with letters unto the king, advertizing him of the whole order, manner and success of that voyage. When this Sir Peter was come before the king, and had presented his letters, the king was so glad and joyful of his coming that as soon as he saw him he asked whether all were well. Sir Peter answered, very well. Then the king, before he would open the letters, did talk with him and examined him, of all the whole matter; who, when he discoursed unto his grace the same at full, the king called for his sword, minding to have dubbed him knight; but, in the meantime, perusing and reading his letters, perceived that he

was already advanced to that degree. The king then turned about, and commending the service then done, commended this Sir Peter Carew also, and promised him that he should not be forgotten.¹

From this time he continued for the most part in the court, spending his time in all courtly exercises, to his great praise and commendation, and especially to the good liking of the king, who had a great pleasure in him, as well for his fundry noble qualities, as also for his singing; for the king himself, being much delighted to sing,² and Sir Peter Carew having

¹The Lord Admiral's letter to the king is given in appendix C, to which the reader is referred.

²The love of music seems to have been instinctive in the Tudor family. Henry VII was fond of the art. Henry VIII was passionately addicted to it. He not only played and sung, but was a composer of music. Sir John Hawkins, in his "History of Music," says, "it is somewhat remarkable that Moseley in his 'Introduction to Harmony,' has taken no notice of Henry VIII as a composer of music." Erasmus relates that he composed offices for the Church. Bishop Burnet has vouched his authority for the same, and there is an anthem of his, in four voices: "O Lord, the maker of all things."

The Venetian Ambassador at the court of England, Sebastian Guistinian, in a despatch to his own State, dated 30th September, 1516, mentions the king's gracious reception of the Friar Dionisius Memo, organist of St. Mark's, at Venice, who was an accomplished performer, and adds, "He played not only to the satisfaction, but the pleasure of every body, and especially of his majesty, who is extremely skilled in music, and of the two serene queens, (Catharine of Arragon, and Margaret, Queen of Scotland)." Again, on the 8th of October, describing a visit he had made to his majesty, he says: "Shortly after this, we were sent for by the king, whom we found with the two most serene queens, and a number of ladies, with whom he was dancing, and he chose us to be present. His majesty danced many dances, and then made said ambassadors (those from the Emperor and the king of Spain, then just arrived in England)

a pleasant voice, the king would very often use him to sing with him certain songs then called *fremen*¹

hear Master Friar Dionisius Memo play, as he did marvellously, being lauded by everybody, and the king himself is so enamoured of him, and pleased with his talent, that we could not wish for more."

Despatches of Sebastian Guistinian translated by Rawdon Brown, in whose interesting volumes are scattered many other notices of Henry's love of music and dancing.

In an inventory of goods taken at the king's palaces, immediately after his death, is a list of various musical instruments at Westminster, in the charge of Peter Van Welder. Harl. M.S. 1416. fol. 300.

Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and Mary, Queen of France, Henry the Eighth's sisters, and Mary and Elizabeth of England, his daughters, were all, more or less, skilled in music.

We are too much accustomed to regard Henry the VIII as a bloated sensualist, and seem, almost, to forget that he was ever young. The following description of him, at an early period of his life, from the despatches of Guistinian, upon whose veracity we may depend, may not, therefore, be unacceptable.

"His majesty is the handsomest potentate I ever set eyes on, above the usual height, with an extremely fine calf to his leg, his complexion very fair and bright, with auburn hair, combed straight, and short, in the French fashion, and a round face so very beautiful, that it would become a pretty woman, his throat being rather long and thick. He was born on the 28th of June, 1491, so that he will enter his 25th year the month after next. (Guistinian was writing on the 30th of April, 1515.) He speaks French, English, and Latin, and a little Italian; plays well on the lute and harpsicord, sings from book at sight, draws the bow with greater strength than any man in England, and jousts marvellously. Believe me, he is in every respect a most accomplished prince; and I, who have now seen all the sovereigns in christendom, and last of all these two of France and England, in such great state, might well rest content, and with sufficient reason have it said to me,

"abi viator, sat tuis oculis debes."

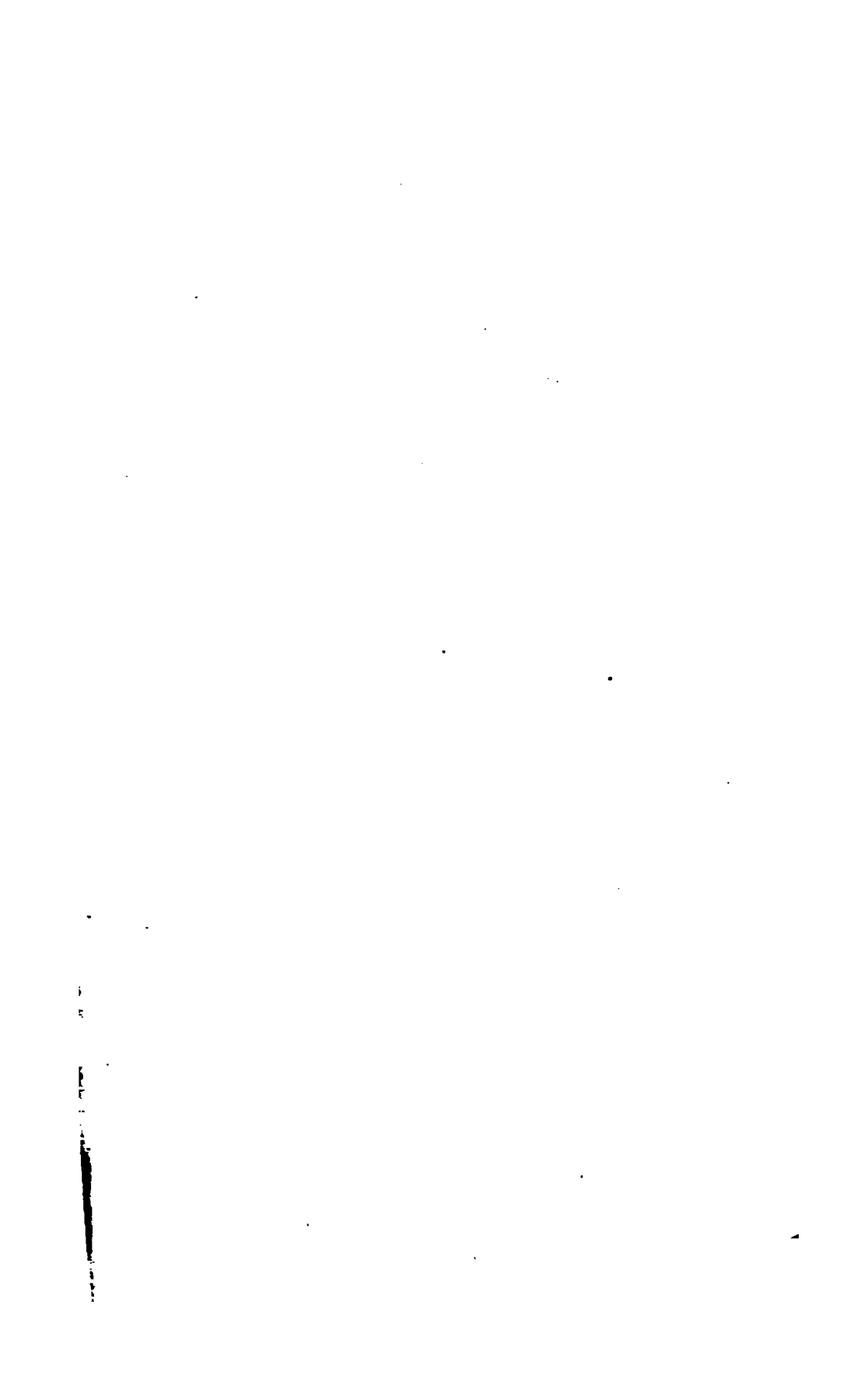
¹ We are at a loss to know whence the term "*fremen*" songs is derived. Three-men-songs are mentioned by Shakespeare in Act IV. scene ii. of the "*Winter's Tale*," "*She hath made me three-man, song-men all, and very good ones; but they are most of them means*

songs, as namely, "By the bank as I lay";¹ and, "As I walked in the wood fo wild."

About a year after this return from Treport, there was a peace concluded between the King of England and the French king, and for the establishing thereof, and to receive the French king's oath, the Viscount Lisle, Lord Admiral, was appointed to be the ambaffador, and among others to accompany and attend him, Sir Peter Carew was one. At their being in the French court, it fortun'd that the Earl

and bases; but one Puritan amongst them and he sings psalms to hornpipes." This would seem to indicate that these songs were of the nature of catches in three parts; two parts are mentioned,—means (tenors) and bases, and the third is implied. Nevertheless, in the British Museum Library there is a work entitled, "Deuteromelia, or the second part of Musick's Melodie, or Melodies Musicke, Of pleasant Roundelaies, K. H. mirth, or *Freemen's Songs*, and such delightful catches, (collected by T. R., Tho. Ravenscroft)," at page 19 of which, among the *Freemen's* songs of *four* voices, we find "By a bank as I lay, &c."

¹ This song seems to have been long a favourite. It is mentioned by Laneham in his letters from Kenilworth, 1575, as being one of the songs, *all ancient*, known to Captain Cox, the leader of the "men of Coventry," in all their "pleasant recreations," to make Queen Elizabeth "gladsome and merry" in her famous visit to Kenilworth. The following version differs widely from that published in the "Deuteromelia, and re-printed in Mr. Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Times." It is found in a volume in the British Museum, numbered in the Catalogue, appendix to the Royal MSS., 58, for a reference to which I am indebted to Sir Henry Ellis. Sir Henry says, "the book came with the rest of the Old Royal Collection of MSS. to the Museum, and undoubtedly belonged to Henry the VIII himself. I am not sure that it may not be the very book from which Henry the VIII and Carew sung, if it is one of the oblong music books which I recollect so often looking at when I was keeper of the MS. department of the Museum." The book fully answers the description given by Sir Henry, and from its appearance, and the



C

By a banke as I lay
 musing my selfe a lone
 how
 a byrds voice did me reioyce spyring
 by fowes the day and my
 how
 thought on hure lay
 she sayd mynt' was past
 how
 Dan' derry cum den' derry cum derry cum derry
 how
 cum' derry cum derry
 cum' den' / how'

of Worcester,¹ (who being then a young gentleman sent over to be trained up in some knowledge and to learn fashions) was by a Frenchman very coarsely handled and illtreated; and the young gentleman

authority of that eminent antiquary, we have no hesitation in believing it to be the identical book used by the king and Sir Peter Carew.

By a banke as I lay musying my sylfe a lone, hey how !

A byrdys voyce dyd me Reioyce

Synging by fores the day,

And my thought on hure lay,

She sayd wynter was past, was past, was past, hey how !

Dan dyry, cum den dyry, cum dyry, cum dyry, cum dyry, cum
dyry, Cum dan, hey how !

The Master of musyke the lusty nyghtyngale, hey how !

ffull meryly & secretly

She syngeth in the thyke,

And vnder hure brest a prike

To kepe hure fro slepe, fro slepe, fro slepe, hey how !

Dan dyry, &c.

Awake there for young men all ye that lovers be, hey how !

Thus monyth of May, soo fresh, soo gay,

So fayre be feld on fen,

Hath floryshe ylke a den,

Grete joy hyt ys to see, to see, to see, hey how !

Dan Dyry, &c.

(*See Music Plate II.*)

¹ The nobleman mentioned in the text, was William the third earl, who succeeded his father on the 26th of November, 1549, therefore, at the time referred to, he had not attained the earldom, but bore the courtesy title of Lord Herbert, and was only 18 years of age. In 1559, he was a Knight of the Garter, and accompanied William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, to present to Henry II the badge of that Order. Camden mentions that he was sent into France in 1573, with a font of pure gold, to be present as surety in the Queen's name, with the deputies of the Empress Mary, and of the Duke of Savoy, at the baptism of the daughter of Charles XI. He was one of the noblemen who sat as judges at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. He died on the 21st of February, 1588-9, and was buried at Ragland.

being but very young, had not the spirit to revenge.¹ But the Lord Ambaffador being advertifed thereof, did fo ftorm, and was fo grieved therewith, that, calling fuch gentlemen unto him as he well liked, fo opened the matter unto them, that they perceived his mind was that fuch an injury fhould not be clofed up without fome acquital. Sir Peter Carew was then prefent, and one unto whom, as they thought, the fpeeches were fpecially directed unto, and indeed, he being fomewhat warmed therein, deviseth how to compafs the matter.

It was not long after, but that the Lord Ambaffador was appointed, and had a day, to come before the king and his dauphin into the chamber of prefence; at which time, he, being attended with all his train, was very honourably conducted unto the king, whofe pensioners and yeomen of his guard flood on either fide with their partizans, as the manner was, then, in that court. In going up to the chamber, Sir Peter Carew efpied the man who had offered the injury to the Earl, and forthwith, going unto him, picked fuch a quarrel with him, that he gave him a box, or blow, under the ear, which being done in the chamber of the prefence, the king and dauphin feemed to be offended therewith; but yet difsembled the matter for the time: and yet, being afterwards advertifed of the truth, they were in doubt whether they might better diflike the evil behaviour of their

¹ *Resent.*

own servant or commend the stout courage of the knight.

During the ambassador's being there, the king, to shew him some pleasure, would carry him abroad to hunt the hart. The king, so earnestly, on a time, followed his game, that he was left alone, and being in a great sweat, sought for his handkerchief to wipe his face, and could not find it. Sir Peter Carew, who only followed him, was at hand, perceiving the same rode unto him and in most humble manner, took out his own handkerchief and delivered it to the king, which the king did not only accept very thankfully, but also stayed there with him, using very pleasant and familiar speeches with him, until such time as more company came, and the king had then fo good a liking of him as he did afterwards use his company both in hunting and other like exercifes.

At his being, and during his abode, in the French Court, he met there with the French gentleman, whom he had taken prisoner at Cambraie, and there required the combat of him for his untruth, because at the time when he was set at liberty, he promised upon his faith and credit either to redeem Sir George Carew, who was then a prisoner, or else to deliver a certain number of French crowns, which promise he performed in no part. This thing being noised in the French Court, the gentleman was greatly misliked of all men, but Sir Peter Carew, well commended for his challenge, and much liked for his stoutness. In the end, the young gentleman, condemning himself

of so much folly, yielded himself to the devotion of this knight, whom, in the end, he releas'd and forgave.

At his being in the court, the French King and the dauphin, having a good affection unto him, did deal very liberally with him, and gave unto him many good and rich gifts; but he was not so apt to receive as he was more liberal to give, for such was his liberality, that he gave not only away that which he received there, but whatsoever he brought of his own with him, insomuch that he left scarce either jewel, horse, or apparel, being worthy the gift, but he gave it. These and other his doings in the French Court, purchas'd unto him, not only a good report and fame, there; but, also, thanks at his home coming.

At his return home, he still continued at and about the court, being wrapp'd in Venus bands, and stricken with Cupid's darts: for he had been, and was, a suitor to a lady in the court, being the widow of a baron deceas'd.¹ In which his suit he had many

¹ Margaret, daughter of Sir William Skipworth, knight, by Alice, dau. and heir of Leonard Dimoke. She was the widow of George, second and last baron Tailboys de Kyme, who succeeded his father, in 1539, and died in the following year.

George, Lord Tailboys is not mentioned in any of the Peerages. Nicolas says, that Gilbert, the first baron, left only one daughter, Elizabeth, who first married Wimbish (who in her right claimed the barony), and, secondly, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. Burke is somewhat more particular, and says that the first Lord Tailboys, "had two sons, George and Robert, who both died in his lifetime, issueless." This is evidently incorrect. Gilbert the first

ague days, as suitors, in such cases, are wont to have. But he having used all the means he could to obtain his purpose, and minding not to have the repulse, he went unto the king, and opening unto his grace his suit, did most humbly beseech his highness to stand his good lord. The king at first seemed to strain courtesy at the matter, neither would have any good liking thereof: nevertheless, in the end, he did so consider of the worthiness and nobility of the gentleman, that he did not only grant his request, but also wrote his most earnest letters unto the lady in his behalf, and promised also to give with that mar-

baron died 15th of April, 1539, as is shown by his monument in Kyme church, co. of Lincoln. On the 26th of April, in the same year, the wardship and marriage of his son George, were granted by letters patent to Sir William Fitz William, Earl of Southampton, and we find from the State Papers, (vol. v., p. 296,) that the young lord was with his guardian at Calais on the 13th December, at the reception of Ann of Cleves. In the beginning of the year, 1540, George Lord Tailboys married the lady mentioned in the text, she being the cousin of the Earl of Southampton. Being only of the age of 16 years, an Act of Parliament was passed (31, Henry VIII, cap. 16), to put him in possession of his estates, and enable him to settle a jointure on his wife. His life, however, was very short. We find in the State Paper Office, a letter from the Earl of Southampton to the king, dated at Cowdrey, on the 6th of Sept., 1540, in which he says: "Thus having none oodre newes to signify, but that your Ma^{tie} hath lost a greate treasure in my Lorde Tailbois, whome, if wordelie goodes wolde have preserved, wolde to God I had bestowed and spent all I have vndre your grace in this worlde to have him a lief; for in mine opinyon a more towarde and licklie gentleman to have doon your Ma^{tie} service, had ye not within your realm; but the will of God must be fulfilled." (S. P. O. Dom. Cor. Henry VIII, vol. ix., No. 225.) In 1544, "Margaret Lady Tailboys, widow of the late Lord George Tailboys," "was granted, by letters patent, (Pat. Rol. 35, Henry VIII, p. 4,) the wardship and marriage of Charles, son and heir of Anthony Gottort, gentleman, of Freston, co. Lincoln.

riage a hundred pound land to them and to the heirs of their bodies. This lady, howsoever her liking of him was before, she now yielded, and was contented, but before any marriage could be solemnized the king died.¹ Nevertheless, a day was concluded between them when the marriage should be, which, as it fell out, was at the coronation of King Edward the VI,² and upon the same day there was a challenge made by this new married knight, with five others, in honour of the coronation against all comers, at the Tilt, Barriers, and Tournays; and there this Ulysses in honour of his Penelope, wore her glove upon his head piece, and acquitted himself very honourably.

At the Tournays there were certain strangers, defendants, and with them did Sir Peter most desire to encounter, and to try their valour. And, supposing that the stem and course of one of them was come to encounter with him, he made himself ready thereunto; but, before he had entered into his course, it was advertised unto him that he was no stranger, but one Mr. Cooke, who was to take that course, whereupon this knight stayed and sent unto the said Cooke, praying him that he would forbear, for that time, and give place to one of the strangers; who denied it. Then he sent unto him again, desiring him very earnestly that he would yield, and grant unto his request, but he would not. "Then," said Sir Peter, "Well, if he will not, then let it fall out

¹ 28 January, 1547.

² 20 February, 1547.

as it may." And so then each one encountering the other, he overthrew the said Cooke, both horse and man.

After this feaft ended, and the said Sir Peter gotten what he fought, and obtained what he desired, was now of the mind to sequester himself from the court, wherefore he and the lady his wife, did conclude to ride into Lincolnshire, where her living lay, and there to sojourn for a time, where they remained almost three years,¹ and until the commotion in Devon. At which time he was sent for to come to the court, and then by the king and council, he, together with his uncle Sir Gawen Carew, were sent down into the country for pacifying of the same, and had commission under the king's hand and signet, for their doing of all such things as to this service did appertain, and they should think good. At their coming into the country they made their present repair to the city of Exeter, and thither resorted unto them Sir Peers Courteney,² then sheriff, and the justices of the whole shire, and then and there, conferring together, they did the best they could to satisfy

¹ Sir Peter appears to have been not wholly resident in Lincolnshire, as he was sheriff of Devon, in the 1st Edward VI, and in the following year as Vice-Admiral for that county, he was commissioned, together with other gentlemen of that county and Cornwall, to fit out an expedition against the French. Vide Appendix D.

² Sir Piers Courteney of Ugbrooke, co. Devon, son of Sir William Courteney, of Powderham, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Edgecumbe of Cotehele, married Elizabeth, only daughter of Robert Shilstone, of Bridestone, Esq., by whom he left issue, sons and daughters.

the trust committed unto them. But such was the obstinacy of the people, and so much (were they) addicted to the popish religion, then to be reformed, and wherein they had the countenance of some such of the best as who did both favour their course, and secretly encouraged them therein; that they were thoroughly bent to maintain their quarrel. And they hearing that these gentlemen were all assembled at Exeter, to the end and purpose to reform them, a great number from out of Sampford Courteney, where the storm first began, and from the other places thereabouts, came and assembled themselves, to the town of Crediton, which is about seven miles from the city. Which thing being advertised unto these gentlemen and justices, it was then agreed and concluded amongst them, that Sir Peter Carew, and Sir Gawen, should, with a competent company ride thither, and to do what they might for pacifying of the people. But when they came to the town's end, the highway was so intrenched, and the same as also the barns of both sides of the ways, were so complemished with men, well appointed with bows and arrows, and other weapons, that there was no passage nor entry for them into the town, nor yet any conference or speeches to be had with them. Whereupon, some one strong man of that company, unawares of the gentlemen, did set one of the barns on fire, and then the commoners seeing that, ran and fled away out of the town, leaving only women and aged people behind them. The gentlemen then went

forthwith into the town, where they found no body, and therefore leaving all things as they thought in some quietness, they returned to Exeter. But the fame and rumour of burning of the barns was so sped throughout the whole country, that the next day the people, like a lot of wasps, were up in sundry places; among which some took the town of Clyft St. Mary, about two miles from Exeter, and there fortified themselves, having placed trees and ordnance upon the bridge, so that none could come upon them from the city. This being advertised unto the justices, it was thought best amongst them that the aforefaid two knights, being the two chief commissioners, together with Sir Thomas Denys¹ and Sir Henry Pollard, should resort thither to pacify and persuade them to quietness. But being come to the town, and finding the bridge "rampired", Sir Peter Carew alighted from his horse, and minded to have gone over a foot, he mistrusting no harm. But the people were so

¹ Sir Thomas Denys of Bicton, and Holcomb Burnel, co. Devon, married Anne, daughter of Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, by whom he left one daughter, Ann, who married Sir Henry Rolle of Stevenson, co., Devon, (ancestor of the late Lord Rolle) who by such marriage acquired the manor of Bicton, where his descendants are now settled.

Sir Thomas Denys lived in the reigns of no fewer than eight kings and queens of England, viz., Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, and was by several of them, held in high esteem. He belonged to the household of Henry VII; was of the Privy Council of Henry VIII; Chancellor to Anne of Cleves, and Custos rotulorum of the county of Devon, for which county he served the office of Sheriff nine times; viz., 1502, 1509, 1513, 1519, 1523, 1528, 1532, 1550, 1556. Died 1602.

bent against him, and he so hard for his religion, that the gunner having his piece charged upon the bridge, did level the same to have shot unto him, and which he had verily done, if one standing by him had not stayed him. Nevertheless, in the end, the commoners were contented to have some private conference with Sir Thomas Denys, and Sir Henry Pollard: but all which came to no effect, for they would yield to nothing but as it pleased themselves.

Whereupon, they all returned again to Exeter, and forthwith the next morning Sir Peter Carew rode to London wards, and by the way rode to Goory Honiton, where the Lord Privy Seal¹ was then, being lately come from London for the same purpose, who being advertised of the broils and rebellion towards, did, by his letters unto the king and council, advertise the same, as also prayed a supply of men and money.

Sir Peter Carew posting in haste to the Court, advertised the king and council of the whole matter. But the Duke of Somerset² and the Lord Rych,

¹ John Lord Russell. See Note, p. 26.

² Edward Seymour, 1st duke, second son of Sir John Seymour of Wolf Hall, in the county of Wilts, and brother of Jane Seymour, queen of Henry VIII. Edward Seymour served under the Duke of Suffolk, in the French campaign of 1523, and behaved so well, that he was knighted by that nobleman. Upon the king's marriage with his sister 1536, he was created Viscount Beauchamp; and about the same time, in conjunction with Sir Richard Buckley, was made Chancellor and Chamberlain of North Wales for life, and also Captain of Jersey. At the baptism of his nephew. (Edward VI) in the

who was then Lord Chancellor,¹ perceiving that the alteration of religion was the cause of the storm and rebellion, and that great troubles were like to ensue thereof, they would have rejected the whole fault upon Sir Peter Carew; the one laying unto his charge the burning of the houses at Kyrton, which was more than his commission, and the other said, that although he had the king's letters for his doings, yet the same were no sufficient warrant for him, unless he had the broad seal, and therefore, he having done more than he had good warrant for his discharge, he well deserved to be rewarded as the author and cause of that rebellion.

These words being very sharp, and touching the quick, he asked pardon, and that he may have leave to answer thereunto; which being granted, he did in such pithy manner, and not without a reasonable stoutness, to answer the duke and Lord Chancellor, and also both satisfy the king and council, that he

following year, he was made Earl of Hertford, and in 1541, elected Knight of the Garter, and Privy Councillor. In 1542, he was made Lord Admiral, and Lord Warden of the Scottish Border. In 1543, Lord Great Chamberlain for life. Commander of Boulogne 1545. Lieutenant of the North, 1545. The king's lieutenant in parts beyond the seas, 1546. Lord Protector, Duke of Somerset, and Earl Marshall of England, 1547. Beheaded 1552.

¹Sir Richard Rich, Solicitor-General, 1533-36. Speaker 1536. Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, 1540. Treasurer of the Wars against France and Scotland, 1544. Lord Rich of Leeze, and Chancellor, 1547. Married Elizabeth, daughter of William Jenks, of the City of London. Died 1569. His grandson, Robert Lord Rich was created Earl of Warwick, 1618, and both titles became extinct in the family of Rich, in 1759.

was well allowed and commended for the same ; and, in the end, according to his petition, order was taken that both men and money should be sent with speed to the Lord Privy Seal, and he willed to return with speed into the country, and there to follow the service for the repression of the rebellion.

The Lord Privy Seal being removed from Goory Honiton unto Honiton, had remained there a long time, still looking for the supply of men and money promised ; and at length, doubting to be assailed of the enemy, and he having no power to withstand them, was persuaded by the gentlemen of Dorsetshire to leave Honiton and to go into Dorsetshire, and there to remain until he had some great force about him. And as soon as he was thus departed from Honiton, Sir Peter Carew, having knowledge thereof, took his horse at Mohun's Ottery, and rode up to the Black Down, and there met with him ; and then having some speeches and conferences with him, declared what inconveniences were like to ensue to the encouraging of the enemy, the undoing of the whole country, and the great dishonour unto himself, if he should now leave the country, and give the enemy scope and liberty to go forward. Which, when his lordship had well considered, he returned back again to Honiton, and never removed from thence until he gave the onset upon the enemies, and subdued them. And true it was that if he had departed according to his first determination, there had grown thereby a greater fire than all the waters in five shires about would have been able to have quenched.

But concerning this rebellion, and the good service this gentleman did therein,¹ the fame already at large, being set forth in a pamphlet² thereof, it is not pertinent to this matter to entreat thereof.

After this commotion was ended, and all things pacified, the said Sir Peter remained for the most part in his country, and was one of the chiefeft in most credit, during the time of King Edward.³

Immediately after the death of the said king,⁴ there was a proclamation conceived by the council,

¹ For his good services on this occasion, Sir Peter Carew received a grant of the lands of Winslade, and Sir Gawen, the lands of Humphrey Arundel.

The city of Exeter also acknowledged their obligations to him ; for in the records of the city is the following entry, under date 11th of March, 4 Edward VI :—" Agreed that Sir Peter Carew, knight, for his great trouble, and good will that he has borne towards the city, in all affairs, he shall have a fee of 40*l.* a year, during his life, to have the same by patent under the mayoralty seal, with a hoghead of wine, at the delivery of the patent."

² We have not been able to discover this pamphlet.

³ Sir Peter Carew had served the office of Sheriff of Devon, 38th Henry VIII, and 1st Edward VI.

In the year 1550, one Michael Winston, discovered several mines of iron and steel, within the king's forests of Exmoor and Dartmoor, in Devonshire, and also a certain earth which would make moor-coal. The king granted a commission, bearing date December 11 of that year, whereby he authorized and licensed John, Earl of Bedford, Peter Carew, and Gawen Carew, knights, Richard Duke, and the said Michael Winston to work the said mines, and to erect such houses and mills as might be necessary for the purpose, with power and authority to bequeath and assign the same at pleasure, so that the said mills and houses, and making of the said iron and steel, may have continuance for ever ; yielding to the king and his heirs for every ton of iron there made, six shillings and eight pence, and likewise for every ton of stele.—*Strype Mem : Vol. II. p. 431.*

⁴ 6th July, 1553.

and fent into the country for the proclaiming of Queen Jane. Sir Peter Carew, albeit he knew very well that there was like to enfue a great alteration in religion if the Lady Mary should be proclaimed queen, and that as he was well affected fo she utterly did abhor it; yet, respecting his faith, duty, and allegiance, to his natural prince, and little regarding what had been done by a former proclamation, did caufe the faid Lady Mary to be proclaimed queen in two market towns near to the place where he then dwelled, the one in Dartmouth, and the other at Newton Bushel.

And it was not long after but that the faid Lady Mary was proclaimed queen throughout the whole realm. And albeit there were none who did condemn this gentleman for his doing, yet there were some of great countenance, and in high authority, which were offended with him, becaufe he had not advertifed unto them his own bent, and the difpofition of the people in thefe countries.

Queen Mary being once quietly poffeffed of the crown, it was not long after, but that there was an ambaffador fent unto her from the emperor for a marriage to be had between her and his fon, King Philip, which was fo mifliked, that certain gentlemen confpired together againft the fame, and many troubled, more of fufpicion than of any juft caufe; and among others, Sir Peter Carew was fo far fufpected that he, together with Sir Gawen Carew, Sir Arthur Champnoun, Knights,¹ and William Gybbes,

¹ Sir Arthur Champnoun was descended from one of the most

Esquire,¹ were proclaimed traitors, and a commission forthwith was sent, in post, unto Sir Thomas Denys,² then sheriff, and unto Sir John St. Leger,³ Knights, for the apprehending of them. And accordingly, forthwith, Sir Gawen, Sir Arthur, and Mr. Gybbes, were

illustrious families in the west of England, originally seated at Clyst, in Devon. In the reign of Edward I, Sir Richard Champernoun acquired the lands of Modbury, and there the family continued till the time referred to in the text. Subsequently Sir Arthur Champernoun exchanged the lordship of Polsloe for that of Dartington, and seated himself there. He married Mary, daughter of Henry Norreys, father of Baron Norreys, of Ricote, and widow of Sir George Carew, by whom he had issue, a son and a daughter. From the former descended Arthur Champernoun, Esq., who, dying in 1766, left issue an only daughter and heir, Jane, who married the Rev. Richard Harrington, second son of Sir James Harrington, of Ridlington, by whom he left issue, Arthur Harrington, Esq., who, in compliance with the testamentary injunction of his maternal grandfather, assumed the surname and arms of Champernoun. He married Louisa, daughter of John Buller of Morval, Esq., and dying in 1819, left issue, as well as other sons and daughters, the present Henry Champernoun of Dartington, Esq.

¹ William Gibbes of Fenton, son of Thomas Gibbes, by Ann, daughter of Sir William Courteney, of Powderham. William Gibbes left two daughters, co-heirs. Elizabeth married Edmund Drew of Hayne, and married Walter Wooton, of Ingelborn, who sold Fenton to Sir John Glanville, Justice of the Common Pleas.

² See note, p. 49.

³ Sir John St. Leger of Annery, son of Sir George, son of Sir James St. Leger, by Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Butler, 8th Earl of Ormond, by Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Hankford of Annery, by his 2nd wife Anne, daughter of John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. Margaret, the other daughter and co-heir of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, was the wife of Sir Thomas Bullen, grandfather of Queen Elizabeth. Sir John St. Leger, married Katherine, daughter of George Neville, Lord of Abergavenny, but having no issue male to survive them, sold Annery to Tristram Ascot, Esq., who married Eulalia, one of his daughters.

taken,¹ and committed to prison; two of them to the queen's gaol of the Castle of Exeter, and the other to the Guildhall of the city, and from thence were removed to the Tower of London,² and being examined there, they were charged to have been confederates with Wyatt,³ and with the Duke of Suffolk; but they answered so well for themselves that they were acquitted, and found to be true and faithful subjects.⁴

But Sir Peter Carew, having some secret intelligence from one who was then both of countenance, and in authority (and who, if Sir Peter should have been

¹The particulars of the apprehension of Sir Gawen Carew and Mr. Gibbs may be seen in letter, No. 8, Appendix E. Sir Arthur Champeron was arrested subsequently. See letter No. 9.

For further details relating to this conspiracy, see collection of documents from the State Paper Office, in Appendix E.

²At a meeting of the Privy Council held at Westminster, 3rd of March, 1553, a letter was ordered to be sent to the "Lieutenant of the Tower, to receive and to keep from conference with any person the bodies of Sir Gawen Carew, and William Gibbes." *Privy Council Register.*

³Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Allington Castle in Kent, who served as sheriff of that county, 28 Henry viii.

⁴According to the *Histoire Généalogique*, Sir Gawen Carew, (with other Protestants) was set at liberty out of the Tower, 18th of January, 1555, and we find that at a meeting of the Privy Council, held at Hampton Court on the 22nd of May, 1555, a letter was ordered to be sent to the attorney and solicitor, stating that whereas "Sir Gawen Carew was promised the King and Queen's ma^{ty}, pardonne for suche offences as he had committed, fforasmuche as he hath not the same vndernethe the brode seale processe, is continued still against him to the outlawrie in the king's benche, they are willed to stave the same from any further proceeding." And in date of the 4th of June, "It was this daie resolved by the lls that Sir Gawen Carew might, with there good leave and licence departe home into

apprehended, did doubt of his own case¹), took his horse and said that he would ride to the court, and there stand to his answer and purge himself; but, by the way, and not far from his house, he met with his man whom he had before sent to two of his dearest friends, the one in Wiltshire and the other in Dorsetshire, and finding by him that no friendship was to be had at their hands, he rode to a friend's house of his not far off, and there lodged, secretly sending one in the meantime unto Exeter for the borrowing of a piece of money, without which he could not help himself; and one other he sent to Weymouth, to provide a bark for him to pass over the seas. And having his money and all things in readiness, and the bark ready for him, he rode unto Weymouth, being apparelled like unto a serving man, and attending upon one of his company, as his servant.²

In the meanwhile his house was rifled, his goods spoiled, and, in the end, his lands given to one James Basset, of the Privy Chamber, Esquire.³

the country, to set his things in order there, so that he returne hither agayne betweene this and the assension daie of our Lorde next ensuyng." *Privy Council Register.*

¹ Perhaps the Earl of Devon. Vide Appendix E. No. 5.

² For an account of his embarkation, see Appendix, E. No. 10.

³ James Bassett was third son of Sir John Bassett, of Heanton, Punchardon, in the county of Devon, knight, by Honora daughter of Sir Thomas Greville. James Bassett left issue one son named Philip, Mr. Bassett received from Queen Mary grants of the manors of Paddesbrooke and Great Torrington, in Devon, which were sold by his son. He died in 1558, and was buried in the church of the Grey Friars in Smithfield

The same night that he was embarked, the lady his wife dreamed that as he was going aboard his bark, he should fall into the seas, and be drowned. Wherewith she fell into such a sudden fright, or fear, that she awoke therewith, and being very pensive, and much troubled with her dream, she sent one to the sea-side, to make enquiry for Sir Peter.

The messenger being come to Weymouth, was advertised how that Sir Peter Carew, as he was going out of the boat to enter into the bark, his foot slid or slipped, and he, therewith fell into the seas, and had been drowned if one standing by had not taken hold of him.¹

As soon as he and his company were all aboard, he caused the sails to be hoisted and to the seas they went; but they had not scarcely crossed the half seas before there arose a terrible storm and tempest, and they in great danger to have been all drowned, and in the end they were all driven back again to Weymouth, where if they had landed, as some of them were willing, they had been apprehended: for all the country was laid for them. But Sir Peter, mistrust-

After a diligent search of the Patent Rolls, we have been unable to discover any record of the grant of Sir Peter Carew's lands to Mr. Basset. Besides, not having been attainted, Sir Peter had not forfeited his possessions, and, therefore, the gift to Mr. Basset must have been in intention only; and this view is confirmed by the fact that Sir Peter recovered his estates when he was restored to the Queen's favour.

¹This incident is not mentioned by John Graynyld as having been related by Edmond Knoplock, who "stood by the bote when they shipped themme selves." See Appendix, E. No. 10.

ing the worst, kept himself, and also his company, close aboard until a better wind served, and then they took the seas again and arrived at Roan.¹ And from thence he rode straight to the court of France, where he was well received, and had very liberal entertainment offered unto him if he would have accepted it. But he utterly refused it, saying, that he was no traitor to his prince, nor country, and he would never receive entertainment to serve against any of them so long as he lived.

Wherefore, leaving the court of France, he went unto Venice, but he was (no) sooner come thither but that one Peter Avanne,² then a leiger, or orator, for Queen Mary, to the duke and estate there, had knowledge thereof, who, forthwith, fought all the ways he could how he might have him to be taken and apprehended. And first, he maketh petition to

¹ Rouen.

² Peter Vannes, Ambassador at Rome, 1529 ; again, 1533. Latin Secretary, 1533. Arch-Deacon of Worcester, 1534-1563. Coadjutor Dean of Sarum, 1536. Dean there, 1539-1547, when he resigned ; but he was again Dean on the 15th October, 1557, and again resigned it in May, 1563, and died not long after.

He appears to have been strongly attached to Mary's cause, and the Romish religion. Among his correspondence from Venice, in the State Paper Office, is a long letter dated the 7th March, 1554-5, relating in glowing terms, the measures he adopted to communicate, in the most imposing manner possible, to the duke and Senate, the queen's success against her enemies, but no mention of Sir Peter Carew is traced in the correspondence. There are some letters of about this period, written in cipher, which was, doubtless, the most prudent way of communicating the iniquitous proceedings stated in the text.

the high court and estate, advertising that a traitor to the Queen of England, his mistress, was fled out of England, and come thither for refuge. Which noble and famous city, although it were a free city, and a sanctuary for all such as were distressed and resorted thither for succour, yet not for such as were traitors to their princes, and false to their countries.

Sir Peter Carew having some intelligence of the matter did forthwith send for one Francisco Foscarinus, who was then an advocate, or attorney-general for the whole State of Venice, and with whom the said Sir Peter had been very well acquainted when he was at the court in England, in the time of king Edward the VIth. This Francisco being forthwith come unto him, he declared unto him all his whole matter and present estate, who, when he had heard the same at full, willeth him to be of good comfort, and not to be afraid; for, "I will," saith he, "repair to the court and see whether any matter be put in against you, which, if it be so, I will answer it for you; but in the mean time take you heed to yourself, and go not abroad, unless you have good company with you, and that you be also well armed and appointed."

This Francisco forthwith goeth to the court, and there findeth the bill of petition which Peter Avanne had exhibited unto the State against Sir Peter, whereunto he made such an effectual and pithy answer, that Peter Avanne's bill was rejected.

Then Avanne deviseth another way, and hireth

certain ruffians, which should watch Sir Peter, and then taking him at an advantage, they should dispatch and murder him, which Sir Peter, remembering the good council of his friend Francisco, did accordingly provide for it.

It chanced that Sir Peter being on a time abroad, must needs return home to his lodging by a certain corner in a street, called *ruga causa*, which Peter Avanne knowing, did beset that place with such ruffians as he had hired, who watched there with their guns and weapons for him. Sir Peter being come near to the place, perceiving the same, prepared himself, and appointed his company to go two and two, and he, with one going with him, kept in the midst, and so passed by the corner. The companions which waited for him, and not knowing which he was of them whom they would have, (for their pieces were charged to have shot only at him) and the evening being somewhat dim, they asked one the other of themselves, "le quelle," "which is he?" but Sir Peter being then passed the corner, the hindermost of his company, having also their pistols charged, turned back and asked what they would, who, when they perceived that he was passed whom they would have they returned, and so he escaped. For which, as he had great thanks to give to God, so then he determined no longer to tarry there in such dangers and perils. And sending then again for his friend Francisco, did by his means take up a piece of money, and so departed from thence, and went unto

Strasburgh in Germany, where, at that time lay Dr. Poynet, late Bishop of Winchester,¹ and certain other Englishmen, being fled out of England for religion. And among these he continued, and stayed until he had news from his lady and wife.

It happened whilst he lay there, that the house of Mr. Poynet fell to be on fire, and such money and and treasure as he had was in a cupboard in the wall, and the fire so increased that no man durst to adventure into the house to fetch it. Sir Peter, considering the distress and heaviness of the man, and hearing him to make some moan for his money, ran with all his force and might to the cupboard, and with his foot gave such a stroke that immediately he broke open the cupboard, took out the money, and ran away. But he was no sooner come out of the door, but the house fell down, and so it was by a miracle he was preserved and saved. And so, from that time, he continued a sojourner in strange lands.

In the meantime, the lady his wife was a continual suitor and travailler to King Philip, and to the Queen, for her husband, and having but cold suits in England, was driven to travell to the king, being at Brussels, in Brabant, and, in the end obtained her purpose.² Which as soon as she had advertised unto

¹ John Poynet, Prebend of Canterbury. -Bishop of Rochester, 1550. Translated to Winchester in the same year. Died at Strasburgh, 1556. Aged 40.

²See letter from King Philip to Queen Mary. Appendix E. No. 14.

Sir Peter, he came down from Strasburgh, unto Antwerp; and being advertised that the Lord Paget¹ was then lately come over in a message from the queen unto the king, he, together with Sir John Cheke,² came to the court at Brussels to salute and to yield unto him such offices as became them; which the Lord Paget seemed to accept in very good part, and gave them very good entertainment.

¹ Sir William Paget married Ann, daughter and heir of Henry Preston, Secretary to the Queen; Clerk of the Council, 1540-43; Clerk of the Parliament, 15—. Sent on a Mission to France, 1541; again, 1544; to the Emperor, 1545; Custos Rotulorum of Stafford and Derbyshires, 154-; Privy Councillor, 23rd April, 1543; Secretary of State, 1543; Lord Paget, 1549; Lord Privy Seal, 1558. Died 9th June, 1563.

He was a man of low extraction, and questionable character. In 1552, he was fined 6,000*l.* for defrauding the king's revenue, and was degraded from the Garter: but on the accession of Queen Mary, was restored. He was the ancestor of the present Marquis of Anglesea.

² Sir John Cheke, was descended from a family long settled at Motston, in the Isle of Wight. He was born at Cambridge, in 1514 and entered St. John's College, in that University, in 1531, where he greatly distinguished himself by his learning and abilities, particularly in his proficiency in the Greek language, and as a theologian. In 1540, he was appointed by King Henry to a Professorship of the Greek tongue, in the University of Cambridge; and in the year 1544, he was chosen one of the tutors to Prince Edward, afterwards Edward the VIth. He contributed much to form the character of that amiable prince, and continued his preceptor until his death. After that event, his zeal for the Protestant religion, induced him to adhere to the cause of Lady Jane Grey. For this offence he was stripped of all his estates, but finally obtained the Queen's pardon, with permission to travel. His return is recorded in the text. Being a man of such eminence and ability, great efforts were made to induce him to conform to the Romish religion, which finally proved successful. His estates were then restored to him, but he lived not long to enjoy them. He died on the 13th February, 1553.

These gentlemen, mistrusting nothing, attended him whilst he was there, and at his departure would have brought him onwards in his journey, but he would in nowise suffer them, but taking them very courteously by the hands, bid them both farewell; they little suspecting that under the fair green grass was hidden the venomous serpent, or, under so many fair words was couched any poison. For the Lord Paget had so practised the matter with the Knight Marshall, or with the sheriff of the country, that these two gentlemen, as they were to return unto Antwerp, should be entrapped by the way, and, as traitors, be carried, perforce, into England.

These two gentlemen, having thus taken their leave, took their journey back towards Antwerp, and by the way, the hired butcherly sheriff lay in ambush for them, and as they were to pass that way he entrapped and took them, and perforce, as sheep appointed to the slaughter, blindfolded them, and carried them to the sea-side, where, as was a Scallard fisher boat provided for them to carry them into England.

The gentlemen of the country, greatly misliking such a disordered or traitorous kind of apprehension, challenged the sheriff for the same; but he, to cover his corruption, and to excuse the matter, alleged that he had received a commandment from the king for the apprehending of them, because they had practised a new trouble and conspiracy against the king and queen, and that he was willed with all speed, to

execute the same; howbeit, it was most untrue, so the king,¹ when he heard thereof, was very much offended, and would have delivered them if they had not been before carried away.

These thus apprehended and brought to the seaside, they were blindfolded and put into the boat, the one at the one end, and the other at the other end of the boat, fast chained, not knowing where they were, or whither they should, nor what should become of them. Well, they might speak the one to the other, but other comfort there was none. Howbeit Sir John Cheke, although very well learned, but not acquainted with the cros of troubles, was still in great despair, great anguish, and heaviness, and would not be comforted, so great was his sorrow; but Sir Peter Carew, whose heart could not be broken, nor mind overthrown with any adversities, and yielding to no such matter, comforted the other, and encouraged him to be of a good stomach, persuading him (as though he had been a divine) to patience and good contentation.

When they had crosed over the seas they arrived in the Thames, and being come near unto the Tower, they heard the bell of the Tower, and then Sir Peter knowing where they were, they were both glad that they were come to such safety; for they verily suspected that they should have been cast into the seas, and

¹ Philip at this time was lord of the Low Countries, of which Antwerp was the principal town.

never more to be heard of. When they were set on land, they were forthwith carried into the Tower, where the constable, according to a precept before sent unto him, received them both, and did then put them afunder. Sir Peter was shut up in a close prison, and of small ease.

The lady, his wife, being hereof advertised, the news was not so strange as grievous unto her that the end, as she thought, of all his and her troubles should now be the beginning of new sorrows. But seeing no remedy, she prepareth herself to run into her old course of new suits, and considering her husband was in very extreme duras, having neither bed to lye upon, nor any to repair unto him, she is a suitor for the redress of both, and did obtain it; so that he had a more convenient room, a bed to be brought unto him, and that she might have access unto him, and then prosecuted her most earnest suit that he might come to his answer, which, though it were long first, yet she, in the end, obtained it. And he being sundry and oftentimes before the council, he did in such wise order, answer and acquit himself, that they could not justly charge him, or justify any matter against him, saving in the end, it was found that his grandfather, Sir Edmund Carew, the last Baron of Carew, did owe to the Queen a certain piece of money, to the payment whereof his land was liable, and that same being paid, he should be discharged and set at liberty.¹ So then all his

¹ In the register of the Privy Council, in date 1st December, 1556,

troubles being brought to a money matter, he found the means for the payment thereof, and so was released out of prison.

It was not long after but that he presented himself before Queen Mary, who gladly conferred with him of all his troubles, and seemed to be very sorry for the same, and glad that he had so well acquitted himself, promising him that she would stand his good lady and friend to do him any pleasure; and, accordingly, offers of preferment were made unto him if he would have accepted them; but being contented, after long troubles, to live at some rest, did continue in a private state during all her reign.

After her death, the Lady Elizabeth being proclaimed queen, he resorted to the Court, and for that his former troubles were sustained partly for her sake, he was had in great favour, and in place to have been advanced to great honour and credit, if he had been as ready to have received as she willing to have given; but, as the common proverb, is “he that will not open the bag when the pig is offered must needs go without it.” Nevertheless, the queen considered him very liberally, and gave him very

is the following entry:—“This daie, Sir Peter Carewe, knight, making sute to the lls of the Counsaill, for sune ordre to be taken with him for the payment of his debt, it was by their lls resolved, first, that he shall paye before Candlemas next, iii C ~~li~~, at Michaelmas following, and every halfe-yere, afterwarde, one C ~~li~~, till theole debt be paide, whiche amounteth in thole to viii C ~~xx~~ ~~li~~. The quenes ma^{tie} to be moued to agree to this ordre. And the said Sir Petre Carewe to put in sufficient suertes for the performance thereof.”

good things, and which were as liberally, if not wastfully, consumed.

He lay for the most part in the beginning of her reign at London,¹ and in the second year of her majesty's reign the Scots were very earnest suitors to her for her aid against the Frenchmen, who then made such repair into Scotland as though the whole Government should rest upon their directions. Whereupon she sent the Duke of Norfolk² thither and the Lord Grey³ with an army; but these two noblemen did somewhat jar the one with the other, whereof she being advertised, did forthwith send Sir

¹ It appears from the State Papers that on the 25th March, 1559, a commission was issued under the sign-manual to Sir William Seyntlo, captain of the Guard, and Sir Peter Carew, for the survey of the Tower of London, and the officers and ministers of the same.

² Thomas Howard, 4th Duke, eldest son of Henry, Earl of Surrey, succeeded his grandfather 25th August, 1554, married Mary, daughter and heir of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. Elected Knight of the Garter, 1559. Constituted Lieutenant-General of the North 1561. In 1567, Charles, King of France, conferred on him the order of St. Michael, being the first time that distinguished honour was ever conferred upon an English subject. Actuated by the powerful passions of love and ambition, in the year 1569 he entered into a conspiracy for releasing from her captivity the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots, marrying her, and asserting her title to the Crown of England. For this he was arraigned in Westminster Hall, and, being found guilty, was executed on Tower Hill, on the 2nd June 1572.

³ William, 13th Baron Grey of Wilton, was the 4th son of Edmund, Lord Grey. His brothers dying successively without issue, he succeeded to the title and estates in 20 Henry viii (1529). He was one of the Council of Calais, 1540. Lieutenant of Hampnes Castle, 1539. Captain 1543. Governor of Boulogne 1546. Marshall of the field in the expedition into Scotland 1548, and, in the same year, was sent with an expedition into Scotland to quell the commo-

Peter Carew thither, both to know the causes,¹ and also to certify her, and in the meantime to compound the variance if he might. At his coming unto these noblemen, and having advertised unto them his message, did likewise advertise back again to her highness his answer, and the state of all things as it stood there, and whereof he himself, albeit a bad scrivener, was his own secretary, he fearing and not dursting to commit the same to any other person.

Whilst he remained there in the camp, there was a piece of service to be done, and the same, by means of the jars between these two noblemen, like to be disorderly done; whereupon the said Sir Peter took the matter in hand, and did, forthwith, so skilfully, and speedily, set the army in battle array as did further the service, appease the unquietness, and

tion which had arisen in consequence of the change of religion. In 5 Edward vi, he was attainted as a favourite of the Duke of Somerset, and committed to the Tower; but in the year following was made Deputy of Calais and Governor of Guisnes. In 1 Mary he took part with the Duke of Northumberland in the cause of Lady Jane Grey. In 1 Elizabeth he was restored in blood, and in the next year, being then one of the Knights of the Garter, he was made Governor of Berwick. He died 14th December, 1562, leaving issue by Mary, daughter of Charles, Earl of Worcester, two sons, Arthur and William, and one daughter, Honora, wife of Henry Denny, of Cheston, in Hertfordshire.

¹ "The present occurrences here are rather uncertain than sure, especially towards the north; for I assure your Lordship, my lords here are in marvellous perplexity that there is no more done towards Leith of this long time than they yet hear of; and for that purpose is Sir Peter Carew dispatched with all speed northward, to understand the particular causes of this delay."—Extract from a letter from the Court to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 15th May, 1560, preserved among the Talbot Papers, and published by Lodge, *Illus. His.*, vol. i; fo. 382.

purchase great credit, and the commendation of a skilful warrior.

When he had done and performed the message and service which was commanded and enjoined him, he returned back to the Court, and was commended, with thanks, by the queen for his good service. And she, being somewhat pleasant with him, thanked him for his letters of his own penning, commending him to be a very good secretary; for, indeed, he wrote them with no more pain than she had labour to read them: for as he spent a night in writing, so she spent a whole day in reading.

After this he gave over London, and came to his house at Mohun's Ottery, where, and at other places in Devon, he spent his time, to his great credit with her and with the whole country, saving her highness seemed to conceive some unkindness against him, because at the parliament holden in the first year of her reign he was thought to favour the bill put in concerning the motion for her marriage; as also because he refused to be one of the parliament-house in the thirteenth year of her reign, when, as she said, he might have done her some good service; nevertheless, it pleased her to use his service as occasion served. And when the Duke of Norfolk¹ was to be arraigned at Westminster-hall he was made the chief officer for that time, and constable of the Tower, both to bring him and carry him back again from the Tower to Westminster.

See Note, 2, p. 68.

It was not long after but he returned him into his country of Devon, and there rested himself, attending such affairs of the commonwealth as the time required.¹ And being now at some leifure, he bethought himself of such lands as he was persuaded he should have by inheritance, within the realm of Ireland. And, although he had sundry writings of evidences for the same, yet they being old, and he unlearned, he could neither read them himself, nor was acquainted with any who could and would sufficiently instruct him. And having continual speeches thereof unto his friends and acquaintance, bemoaning, as it were, the want of some expert and skilful man to instruct him, it was, at length, advertised unto him, that the writer hereof, being to him then unacquainted, was a man greatly given to seek and search old records and antient writings, and was very skilful in reading of them, and that he was best able of any in the city of Exeter to do him pleasure in this behalf.

Sir Peter being very earnest and desirous to have his humour to be satisfied, seeketh means of acquaintance with him, and having attained the same, he did forthwith shew and impart unto him, two or

¹ The southern and western coasts of both England and Ireland had been long infested with pirates and freebooters of every description. Accordingly, in the year 1564, we find a commission issued to Sir Peter Carew, to fit out certain ships for their extirpation. The queen's letters to him on that occasion, as well as other papers relating to the transaction will be found in Appendix G.

72 *Investigates Title to Lands in Ireland.* [1567.

three old writings of evidence, concerning the said his lands, and of which one was very old, and had been trodden under the foot, and by that means the letters were almost worn out. Nevertheless, this man did read them, and declare the effect of them unto him, which he did like so well, that then he committed unto him the view and search of all his evidences, of which he served only those out of so many as he thought did appertain to this matter. And all these he wrote out into a fair book,¹ and thereof, as also only of his other evidences, he drew out his pedigree and descent. And then, Sir Peter Carew, being satisfied of his title, and instructed of his right, did, by the advice of this writer, make his repair to her highness, and to the council, laying before them, and giving them to understand, what title and right he had to sundry pieces of lands in the realm of Ireland, most humbly requesting that he might have the liberty to travel over into that realm for the recovery thereof.

Her majesty and council seemed to be glad thereof, and did not only grant his request, but also sent their several letters to the lord-deputy of that realm, and to all her officers for his furtherance and help therein. When he had obtained all these things according to his own mind, he cometh down into the country, sendeth for this writer, and imparteth unto

¹ There is a "fair book" of these evidences in the Lambeth Library, No. 606, and we are informed that there is a similar one in the possession of Sir William De la Pole, Baronet.

him the whole success of his journey; and then conferreth with him what were best to be done. At length, upon good advice and conference between them, it was concluded that some one should be first sent over to learn and understand here the same, and in what case the right of the matter was there, and whether any attainure,¹ statute, or alienation, were made by any of the ancestors of this gentleman, by which his right were extinct; and there being none who would, or who was meet to, take this matter upon him, then he entreated with this writer to do it; who, notwithstanding that he was very loath, yet at length he yielded thereunto: and forthwith he took shipping at Ilfracombe, being then the beginning of May, and arrived to (at) Waterford, and from thence taking his journey towards Dublin, he passed through the country of Odrone, which was a barony, and parcel of the inheritance of the said Sir Peter, and fundry of whose ancestors had been barons of the same.

At his coming to Dublin, and as soon as he had presented his letters to Mr. Robert Weston,² then lord chancellor, and to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Knight,³ they two being then lords justices, in the

¹ (Attainder).

² Robert Weston, L.L.D., Dean of the Arches in England, and appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland 8th August, 1567.

³ Sir William Fitzwilliam, eldest son and heir of Sir William Fitzwilliam, of Milton, in Northamptonshire, by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Sapcote, of Elton, in Huntingdonshire, ancestor of the present Earl Fitzwilliam. He married Anne, sister of Sir Henry

absence of Sir Henry Sydney,¹ lord-deputy; and likewise his letters to the master of the rolls,² he had the liberty to have access, and to make his repair to all such records as were within the Castle of Dublin. And in the search of which he spent a few weeks, finding many records to maintain and justify the title which Sir Peter Carew had to sundry feignories, and to pieces of lands, as well in the province of Lienster, where the barony of Odrone lieth, as also in the province of Munster, in which he had great feignories, and where his ancestors were sometimes marquisses, and in the province of Meath, in which are the lordships of Dowlike, and of Maston Troote, sometimes named Balymacleshan, and sundry other particular pieces lying thereabouts. But as for any attainders, statutes of absences, or any alienations, or discontinuance, there appeared none in all the records.

When he saw all things to frame so well, and

Sydney, and was many times Lord-Deputy of Ireland, besides being on several occasions Lord Justice, and holding other high offices in that kingdom. He died 22nd June, 1599, and was buried at Marham, in Northamptonshire.

¹ Sir Henry Sydney was the son of Sir William Sydney, of Penshurst, in Kent, and married Mary Dudley, daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and sister of the Earl of Leicester. He was one of the most distinguished statesmen of his time, and was Knight of the Garter, President of Wales, and Deputy of Ireland.

² Henry Draycott, of Marinerton, co. Meath, Esq., Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, appointed Master of the Rolls by Privy Seal, dated 5th October, 1565, patent 15th December, on which day he appeared in Chancery in that character. Died 1572.

that nothing could be found to prejudice or impeach his title, but only prescription, which in that land holdeth not, he sendeth, forthwith, his letters of advertisement unto Sir Peter Carew, who, not a little rejoicing thereof, embarked himself at Ilfracombe in the beginning of August, 1568, and arrived at Waterford, where he stayed until he had sent for the author hereof, who then lay in the Barony of Odrone, at the house of one Henry Davells,¹ Esquire, and () born in Devon, who forthwith repaired unto him.

As soon as it was known that he was thus arrived, there resorted also unto him Thomas Stukely,²

¹ Henry Davels, younger son of William Davels, of Merland, near Hatherleigh. He was greatly distinguished by his services in Ireland, where, by his high and honourable qualities, he had won the esteem and regard of all classes. He was an intimate and warm friend of Sir John Desmond, and for this reason, upon the breaking out of the rebellion in 1579, under James Fitzmaurice, he was selected by Sir William Drury, President of Munster, to ascertain the views and reclaim the wavering allegiance of the Earl of Desmond and his brothers. In consequence of Sir John of Desmond's familiarity with the English, and particularly from the friendship which existed between Davels and him, his devotion to the cause was the subject of suspicion among the rebels. To remove this impression, and secure their confidence, he determined upon the following base and sanguinary outrage. Davels having executed his commission to the Earl, in his return remained a night at Tralee, whither he was followed by Sir John. Without suspicion of evil he retired to rest; but, in the dead of the night, he was roused from his slumbers by the entry into his room of Sir John Desmond, who had gained admission by bribing the porters. Recognizing his friend, Davels exclaimed with some surprise, but with his usual familiar manner, "What, son! what is the matter?" But Sir John merely replied, with a fierce gesture, "No more son, nor no more father, but make thyself ready, for die thou shalt!" and immediately murdered him.

² Thomas Stukely was a younger son of an ancient and wealthy

Esquire, then Constable of Leighlin, and Senechal of Wexford, and the aforefaid Henry Davells, and,

family, seated near Ilfracombe, in Devonshire ; one of which, of the same name, was sheriff of that county in the 12th of Henry VIII. Stukeley was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. Fuller gives him a place among his Worthies, and says : " He was one of good parts, but valued less by others because he overprised himself. Having prodigally misspent his patrimony, he entered upon several projects (the issue general of all decayed estates), and first pitched upon the peopling of Florida, then newly discovered in the West Indies." So confident was his ambition and arrogance that he hesitated not to tell Queen Elizabeth to her face that he preferred rather to be the sovereign of a mole-hill than the highest subject of the greatest king in Christendom ; adding that he was assured he should be a prince before his death. " I hope (said Elizabeth) I shall hear from you when you are instated in your principality." " I will write unto you " (quoth Stukely). " In what language " (saith the queen). He returned, " in the style of princes : ' To our dearest sister.' "

Fuller says the Florida adventure failed for want of money ; whereupon he proceeded into Ireland, then the great field for all aspirants in arms, where he was employed for some years. According to Wright, having been refused the responsible post of Steward of Wexford, his turbulent spirit was so irritated that he threw aside his allegiance to the English Crown, and repaired to Spain, to solicit assistance from Philip II, for the rebellious party in Ireland. Then he proceeded to Rome, and so far ingratiated himself with the Pope, that he obtained his concurrence in an expedition for the conquest of Ireland. His holiness, moreover, gratified his restless ambition by conferring on him the empty, but high-sounding, titles of Baron of Ross, Viscount Murrough, Earl of Wexford, Marquis of Leinster. Being furnished with a band of 800 men, he embarked for Ireland ; but in his passage thither he landed at Lisbon, when he found Sebastian, King of Portugal, with two Moorish kings, about to proceed on his celebrated expedition into Africa. Stukely was induced to join with them, and, with his confederates, was slain on the ill-fated field of Alcazar.

" A fatal fight, where in one day was slain

Three kings that was, and *one* that would have been."

Stukeley's name is found very frequently in the popular ballads and literature of the period.

1568.] *And makes "Entry" upon the Barony.* 77

congratulating his coming, they provided horses for him, and all his company, and conducted him first to Leighlin, where he had very liberal and honourable entertainment of Mr. Stukely, and thither resorted unto him sundry of the chief of Kavanaghs, who then were the occupiers of the barony, and showed unto them that he was their lord, and that he was come to make claim and to recover the same his barony, which speeches were not so hard unto them but they more hardly digested them. From thence, he having thus made an entry upon the barony, the said gentlemen conducted him to Dublin, where he remained until Allhallowtide without doing of any thing, because, as then, Sir Henry Sydney, then Lord Deputy, was not yet come out of England.

During his abiding there he lay at a house named St. Mary Abbey, where he kept a very liberal and a bountiful house, and great resort daily was unto him, for which he was had in great admiration. But nothing was so strange as that he was come to make title, and claim, for such great lands as was thought would never have been claimed. For, albeit, they knew all that the Carews, whom they name, in their language, "Carones," were great possessioners and noblemen in that land, and that there were many as yet remaining in most part of the realm of the same name and family, yet they little thought that the name, having been almost extinct for certain hundreds of years, any was left alive or remaining, to whom the inheritance of the same should descend unto; but

having known that he was the man who of right ought to have it, they could but marvel at it, and yet confels the right.

It happened that on a time that he was riding on his footcloth through the streets in Dublin, an old gentlewoman sat at her door as he passed by, and talking with one of her neighbours, saith: "Ye have heard that it is an old saying that a dead man should rise again, and lo," saith she, pointing her hand to Sir Peter, "yonder he is; for his ancestors were great Lords, and had great possessions in this realm, but having not been heard of these two hundred or three hundred years, it was thought they had been all dead, and none left on live to claim the same, but now this man is risen as it were from the dead, and is awaked and mindeth to *sturre* them out of their nests, which thought to lie all at their rests." And this was not only her talk, but it was also the common *skelte*¹ and speech throughout the whole land, and the most part, generally, were glad, and rejoiced that so noble, so worthy, liberal, and valiant a gentleman, and sometymes of their own nation, was come to dwell again amongst them.

Whilst he lay at some leisure at Dublin, he be-thought himself whether it were better to begin in the suit for the barony of Odrone, or with Sir Christopher Chyvers for his lordship of Maston; for as concerning his claim to the great feignories in

¹ Rumour, report.

Munfter, the fame being of a great weight and importance, it was not yet to be dealt with.

At length he fendeth for Sir Christopher Chyvers, who dwelled at Mafton, about fifteen or fixteen miles from Dublin, and within the Englifh pale, and advertifed him that the houfe and lands which the faid Sir Christopher then held, was not his, but the faid Sir Peter's, and that he had good charts to fhew for the fame, and was therefore come to make claim thereunto. Sir Christopher, at this motion, was aftonied, and albeit it touched him near the quick, yet being very courteoufly entreated and entertained by Sir Peter, he thanked him for it, and requested a time of refpite to give his anfwer, which, in the end, was, that he would not depart from it otherwife than as by law the fame fhould be recovered.

Upon this anfwer Sir Peter was refolved to begin with him, becaufe he was a gentleman of good countenance and wealthy, and well allied, efpecially with lawyers; faying, he would begin with the beft, and, if he did prevail againft him, then the refidue would the fooner yield. But before this anfwer, he was perfuaded to have begun his fuit againft the Kavanaghs for the barony of Odrone, becaufe the fame was of his antient inheritance, a great territory or country, and which carried the title of honour.

Sir Christopher Chyvers, perceiving that he fhould be called unto the law, doth fo impart his cafe unto the lawyers, that there was not a lawyer within that land, of any countenance, who would be in council

80 *Exhibits Bill before Deputy & Council.* [1568.

with Sir Peter Carew, saving one John Synnet of the town of Wexford, in the province of Leinster, wherefore he sent forthwith into England for one Mr. William Peryan,¹ an outer barrister of the Middle Temple, and born in the city of Exeter, who, being come over, they framed a bill against Sir Christopher Chyvers, and exhibited the same against him before the Lord Deputy and Council; and forthwith a precept was sent unto him for his appearance, and at the day appointed² he, with his eight counsellors, appeared; but they refused to answer the bill, because they said that court was no ordinary court for the trial of lands, and therefore the Lord Deputy and Council were no competent judges; secondarily, that no person should be impleaded for any lands but by the order and course of the common laws, and not otherwise; and lastly, that the common law being every man's inheritance, no man ought to be abridged thereof; and to this the two Chief Justices³ did consent. But Mr. Peryan replying, answered—first, that the Queen's

¹ Son of John Peryan, Esq., twice Mayor of the city of Exeter, viz.: 1563 and 1572, in which last year of the mayoralty, he died. In 1580, Mr. Peryan was called to the degree of serjeant-at-law. In 1581 he was constituted one of the Justices of the Common Pleas. In 1593 received the honour of knighthood, and, in the same year, was made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, which office he held until his death, on the 9th October, 1604.

² 3rd November, 1568.

³ Sir John Plunket, of Dousoghly, co. Dublin; appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Aylmer removed, 12th October, 1559. Privy Councillor and Privy Seal, 1562. Died 1583.

Sir Robert Dillon, of Newtown, co. Meath, was Attorney-General to King Henry VIII; second Justice of the King's Bench, and a Privy Councillor, 18th February, 1553. Chief Justice of the

Majesty, by her prerogative, might and did use to call before her all matters whatsoever depending in any court; secondarily, that every man being driven to an extremity, or wanting just trial, may bring his cause before her Majesty, either in the Chancery or before the Council; lastly, that there were sundry precedents to be shewed how, in the like cases before this, the like matters had been decided there, in that land, before the Lord Deputy and Council; but this answer not sufficing, and they still denying the authority of that court, the Queen's prerogative was called in question, and thereupon the two Lords Justices, and the Queen's learned counsel, were commanded, by a day,¹ to advertise the Lord Deputy whether he might proceed to hear and determine any such matters. Who, accordingly, taking advice with the learned men,² and perusing their books, gave

Common Pleas 3rd September, 1559. He married Genet, younger daughter of Edmund Barnewell, of Crickstown, Esq., and had issue four sons and three daughters, of whom Sir Lucus Dillon was his heir. Sir Robert Dillon was the ancestor of the Earls of Roscommon.

¹ Monday, 8th November.

² Item, on Saterdag, y^e vith of Novembr, Justice Plunkett, and Justice Dillon, being at dinner at the Inns of Court in Dublin, did, after dinner, assemble and call together, all y^e gentlemen and studentes there, and then propoundinge y^e question of the Queen's prerogative, and of the authoritie of the table of y^e Counsaill; whether any matter in lawe might there be determined, one, Justice Talbott, of the Common Place, stood vpp, and said, y^e the Lo. Deputie and Counsaill, might heere any and determyn. Immediately, Robert Dillon, baron Bathe's sonne, and Mr. Chyvors, who was present at all these things, talking together, the said Dillon said. "We have a great matter in hand;" "yea," saith Bathe, "and such if that table may here and determyn yo matter, S^r

a resolute answer,¹ that forasmuch as Sir Peter Carew, for sundry causes, could not have his just trial at the common law, that therefore this matter was determinable before the Lord Deputy and Council. Upon which their determination, Sir Christopher Chyvers was commanded, and had day to put in his answer to the bill exhibited against him, which he did.² And then seeing that he was abridged from all such dilatories as his counsel learned were minded and might have used at the common law, and finding, also, that Sir Peter had such good and substantial charts to show as which they could not avoid, they make request the matter might be ended by compromise, whereunto Sir Peter would never yield until Sir Christopher himself did, in most humble suit, pray and desire the same, alleging the undoing of himself, his wife, and children, if the land should be evicted of him.

Christopher, wilbe shreudlie shaken." "God forbydd," said Sr Christopher. "Yes," said he, "and if you had not the better charts you may happily be shaken out of great pece of your land. "No," saith Sr Chr., "I will rather spend £10,000."—Lamb. MSS., 606, fol. 49.

¹ On mondaie neither Justice Dyllon of y^r Common Place, nor Justice Plunkett, of y^r King's Bench, did give any answer of their opinion, but on Tewsedaie, secretly, they gave iudgment, y^t the table of the Lo. Deputie, and Counsaill might proceed, and determyn; wherefore it was concluded by the Lord Deputy and Counsell, that this matter there entered, and begonne before them, should be there determyned.—Lamb. MSS., 606, fol. 49.

² On friday, 12 November. He could only show a title to the twentieth part of a moiety of Corbally, a very insignificant portion of Sr Peter's claim, which he showed to have been held by Walter Chever, his great grandfather. With respect to the rest, he was obliged to admit that he did not possess the freehold. Lamb. MSS., 606, fol. 57.

Sir Peter, being overcome with his requests, and partly pitying the state of the knight, was contented, and in the end, the arbitrators finding that Sir Christopher had nothing to shew for his title, but only a lease for some parcel of land whereof were a hundred years then to come,¹ they set a price between them, which, albeit it were nothing in respect to the value of the land, yet a great deal more than it was for Sir Christopher's ease to pay; wherefore, submitting himself wholly to Sir Peter's devotion, he so entreated with him, and by entreaty so prevailed with him, that in the end, he had the whole land released unto him almost for nothing,² saving a drinking "nutt" of silver worth about twenty pounds, and three or four horses, worth about thirty pounds. Sir Peter Carew, himself making more account of the conquest, and that he had made him to confess before the Lord Deputy and Council, and the chiefest of the realm then present, that he had no title to the land, than he did for the value of the land, though it were a sufficient living for a right worshipful man.

This matter thus ended, he followeth his suit against the Kavanaghs, against whom he had exhibited his bill, and they answered to the same.³ And in the end, judgment was given for him against them, and

¹ See Note, 2, p. 82.

² See Sir Peter's Letter, Appendix H., No. 3.

³ Alleging as their title that they were descended from Dermond Gelde, M^c Morogh, who, before the conquest, was king of Leinster, which, if true, was not a sufficient title, as it was overthrown and avoided by the Conquest. Dermond, however, had but one daughter

by a decree of the Lord Deputy and council,¹ he pronounced to be the right lord of the barony of Odrone, as of his lawful and antient inheritance; and before the feast of Christmas he was in full possession of the same, by a warrant directed by the Lord Deputy and council to Henry Davells, Esquire, then sheriff of the county of Catherlough.²

Immediately, or not long after, Thomas Stukely was discharged of the custody and garrison of Leighlin, and Sir Peter Carew appointed to the same by a commission from the Lord Deputy, bearing date, the 17th February, 1568.³

All these things being thus compassed, Sir Peter

and heir, who married Strongbow. Sir Peter, on the other hand, proved his lineal descent from Digon, who, long subsequent to the Conquest, was acknowledged Baron of Odrone, and further showed that several of the Carews, his ancestors, had been seized of the said barony, and had been called into the Court of Exchequer, to answer the rents and royal services due for the same. That his ancestors were successively, by lineal descent, seized of the said barony, until the M^o Murrough's, in time of general rebellion, had forcibly and wrongfully driven them out. Lambeth MSS., 606, fol. 59.

¹ Dated 17th December, 1568. Lambeth MSS., 606, fol. 59.

² Copy. Lambeth MSS., 606, fol. 58.

³ See Appendix H., No. 4.

N.B.—On the 10th February, 1569, Sir Peter Carew was appointed of the Privy Council of Ireland, as appears from the following extract from the draft of a letter from Queen Elizabeth, to the Lord Deputy:—“We do also well allowe your choice of Sir Peter Carew, in recommending him to be by vs appointed of our counsele there to assist you, for so we think him able and mete for many respects, which we would have you declare vnto him; and therupon we will that you do in suche manner as thereto shalbe requisite, call him of our said Privy Counsell, and in our name admit him, and give place, and for the service of vs in the same.”

Carew took his leave of the Lord Deputy and Council, and departed to Leighlin. At his coming thither, and being there, he endeavoured himself to do all things as might be done uprightly, and without reproach; and wherein he was noted especially in three things, the first was, for his housekeeping and hospitality, which was so liberal and bountiful as none like unto him in that country. The second was for his government, which was done with such equity and uprightness, that none could, or did, complain of him, that either for favour, affection, or displeasure, he did, or would deny to execute justice and true judgment; and by that means he brought that country to such a quiet state, as that it was rid from all oppressors, kernes, and other loose people, which lived upon the spoil and rapine of others. Thirdly, he so courteously dealt, and so friendly entreated his tenants, the Kavanaghs, and so liberally bestowed upon them, that, albeit it were some grief unto them to be dispossessed of the possessions which on long time they had held and enjoyed, yet they most gladly served him, and became to be his tenants, and took of him such portions of lands by writing as pleased him to devise unto them, yielding such rents, duties, and service, as it pleased him to reserve. And then, also, he erected certain courts baron, in fundry places within his barony, for maintenance of peace and quietness among them, according to the laws and usages of England, which to them, before that time, was not known; and by these means, his name and fame

so increased, that the most part of the people thought themselves most happy that so good a man was come amongst them. Nevertheless, some there were who loving, and being accustomed to reap what other men do sow, and to spend what other men do get, could not abide the neighbourhood, nor like the dwelling so near such a worthy man, and, therefore, they, being gorged with envy, could not abide him, nor like of him; but in secret manner practised and devised the discrediting of him, which, when they could not compass, they imagined his destruction.

For on a time, he being to come from Dublin towards Leighlin, and being come to a place called Black Raghe, it was advertised him that there were certain horsemen and their kernes, which lay at Bolton Hill in an ambush, to entrap him as he should pass that way. This Bolton Hill is a place not far from Treffelderment which lieth south from it, and not far from the house of the Earl of Kildare, called Killmanye, which lieth on the west side thereof in the valley between it and the river of the Barrow, and on which hill lieth the highway from Dublin to Leighlin, and upon which a man may escry afar off.

Sir Peter Carew, understanding by his espials that the advertisement was true, he turned down towards the river of Barrow, and passeth by the house of Kyllmanye, aforesaid, unto Carlough, leaving Bolton Hill upon the left hand, and so escaped his enemies for that time.

Sundry such conspiracies had been, and daily were

contrived against him, and for no other cause but because he did not only abolish in his own country, but also inveighed against the wicked and detestable usages of the Irish, in coyne, and livery, in cefsheries, and cesses, and such other Irish customs, the same being but the spoiling of the honest subject and the labourer, and the maintenance of thieves, murderers, and all loose and disordered people.

The chiefest and greatest adversary that he had was supposed to be Sir Edmund Butler, brother to the Earl of Ormond.¹ He propounded and alleged that Sir Peter did make challenge to some parcel of his land, which he held, and was given unto him by the earl his father.² True it is that in the Dulloghe being a parcel of the Barony of Odrone, and lying on the west of the barony, this Sir Edmund Butler had a portion of land called Cloghgrenan, which his father, James, Earl of Ormond, had taken from one Moroghe Geyre Kavanagh, and having expelled him, did give the same to his son Sir Edmund; but this conveyance being nothing in law, nor sufficient to cut off, or to abarre, the title of Sir Peter, who had recovered his whole barony against the Kavanaghs,

¹ Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond, and 3rd Earl of Ossory; married daughter of John, 2nd Lord Sheffield, Lord Treasurer of Ireland, 1559. Died, 1614.

² James Butler, 2nd Earl of Ossory, created Viscount Thurles, and in his father's lifetime obtained an Act of Parliament for the restitution of the Earldom of Ormond, which had been conferred by King Henry VIIIth, 1539, upon Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, son of Sir William Boleyn, by Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas, 8th Earl of Ormond, who died 1515.

88 *Another Conspiracy against Sir Peter.* [1568.

yet, nevertheless, having sundry conferences with Sir Edmund herein, did conclude with him, that though he supposed his title to be good and sufficient, yet, for the honour he did bear unto the earl, and the good will which he did bear unto the said Sir Edmund, he would neither dispossess, nor trouble him at all, until such time as both their titles were opened and discovered to the earl, and then if it did appear that the title of Sir Edmund were good and sufficient, he should quietly enjoy the same; but, on the contrary, if the right lay in him, the said Sir Peter, yet he would deal so well, so friendly, and so like a gentleman, with him that both he and the earl his brother should well like of it. Nevertheless, Sir Edmund, whose bent was another way, could not brook Sir Peter, nor digest his manners, nor allow of his offers, but, as one maligning at his good success, and envying his government, did what he could to supplant him, as it did appear many ways, whereof these two examples are said to be very true.

It happened that Sir Peter Carew being on a time at Waterford, and returning home he was to come through a town named Thomastown, and before he was come to the town, he had espied a certain company of horsemen, lying at the further end of the town, not far from the way through which he had to pass. Whereupon he commanded his men to prepare themselves in a readiness to withstand the enemies if they should assail them, and so leaving the town, rode in the open fields. Sir Edmund Butler, perceiving

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the bent of Sir Peter Carew and of his men, departed away, and got him to the wood side, not far from thence, and so Sir Peter passed by without any further offer made.

At one other time Sir Peter Carew being at Dublin, and having stayed there about ten or twelve days, he sendeth one of his men a day before him to Leighlin to advertise of his coming. In the meanwhile, Sir Edmund Butler had a conference with certain Englishmen, and they, not brooking Sir Peter Carew, because he fought that general reformation, as which if it might take effect a great part of their gain would be cut off, did conspire with Sir Edmund against Sir Peter. And being advertised what day and time Sir Peter was appointed to return from Dublin, did lay themselves in an ambush by the way where he should pass, to entrap him, and minded verily, if he did come, to make an end of him. Sir Peter little knew hereof, and yet, nevertheless, being stayed at Dublin upon other occasions, he came not out of Dublin the day which he appointed, whereupon they, mistrusting that either he should be advertised of this conspiracy, or distrusting their own shadows, returned home and gave up that attempt. And it was not long after, falling at debate and variance among themselves, some of them disclosed and advertised the matter unto Sir Peter, when, he challenged them very deeply, and proved the matter before them; yet, in the end, as well as for the compounding of the variance grown by this discovery,

and partly moved by the shame which some of them had conceived of themselves, he was more ready to to forgive than hafty to take revenge, *and surely some of them so betbought themselves of their follies they never after were, or would be, offensive unto him.*¹

Not long after this ensued the rebellion named the Butler's wars, the chief and principal guide whereof was Sir Edmund Butler, third son of James, Earl of Ormond, who little accounting that he was an Ireland man and descended of an honourable parentage, was entered into such a folly, or rather a phrensy, that he became not only a meer Irishman, but also an Irish kerne, in apparel, behaviour, and all other savage manners of Irishry; and being altogether carried and led by them, he ranged and spoiled the whole countries with sword, fire, and, all hostility.² His coloured excuse, and false pretence, was because Sir Peter Carew did make claim to some part of his land, which albeit it had been so yet no sufficient cause of rebellion; but true it is, a general conspiracy was made, and had been working a long time, to have prevented and withstanded the general reforma-

¹ This passage is not in the original MS., but is printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps from his copy.

² Captain Malbie writing to Sir William Cecil, on the 21st of June, 1569, informs him that "Sir Edmund Butler hath gathered a great company, and with fire and sword spoileth Odrone and adjoining lands. He hath taken one Robert Manaring, an English gentleman, and leadeth him up and down in a haulter." "The Lord Baltinglass, his father-in-law, was sent unto him by the Lord Deputy, to come to him, which he hath vtterly refused to do, bydding him to avoid with spede."

tion which was supposed should have been established throughout the whole land, for the suppressing and reforming of the loose, barbarous, and most wicked life of that savage nation, which rather than they would yield unto, they would, with the Lacedemonians strike out one of Lycurgus' eyes, and put the Queen's Majesty's crown and dignity in peril. Nevertheless, the matter being attempted, they proceed therein, which had the worst success because the serpent of this division had hatched her eggs of this treason out of season, and before her time, for as it fell out, the confederates of the rebellion kept not *too close*.

The wars being thus begun, and the Lord Deputy thereof advertised, he used all the good means and ways he might to dissuade, and to revoke, Sir Edmund Butler from this wicked attempt. But when neither courtesy, letters, nor friendly persuasions could prevail, then, by open proclamation, he denounced both him and all his associates to be traitors, unless by a day they did come in and yield themselves; and when this, notwithstanding, they did persist in this hostility, then the Lord Deputy, meaning with force to subdue them, prepareth for an hosting, and in the meantime sendeth three or four ensigns of soldiers unto Sir Peter Carew, being then at Leighlin, under the conduct of Humphrey Gilbert,¹

¹ Humphrey, 2nd son of Otho Gilbert of Greenway, in the county of Devon, Esq., by Katherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernown, of Modbury, in the same county, Knight, who, after the death of Gilbert

Esquire, Nicholas Malby,¹ Esquire, (both which are fithens dubbed knights) and Captain Baffenet with others; who, being all come to Leighlin, Sir Peter being appointed the general, did, with their consent, fend one unto Cloghegrennan Castle, which is about three miles from thence, to summon the same; but Sir Edmund being thence departed, and leaving it well fortified, gave them in commandment that they should not, in anywise, yield the same to any man: and they, accordingly, having given that answer to the message, he returned therewith to the castle of Leighlin, whereupon it was agreed that they should all march thither to lay siege thereunto: where Sir Peter used these two policies. The one was this:—the castle of Cloghegrennan was square, and but little, as are the manner of the castles in that land, and all such lights and windows as were therein, they were stopped, only in every quarter certain small loops

married Walter Raleigh, of Fardel, Esq., and, by him was mother of the famous Sir Walter Raleigh. Humphrey Gilbert was born about the year 1539; he was equally distinguished by his great abilities, and heroic courage. Having served with great bravery in Ireland, under Sir Peter Carew, he received the honour of knighthood from Sir Henry Sydney, at Drogheda, on 1st January, 1569—70. He was, moreover, one of those daring adventurers to whom we are indebted for considerable improvements in navigation. Having discovered Newfoundland, he took possession of it in the Queen's name, and planted a colony there, which, however, proved a failure. In 1583, he made another voyage to that country, and on his return perished at sea.

¹ Nicholas Malby, Governor of Lecale, and Chief Commissioner in Connaught, knighted by Sir Henry Sydney, at Athlone, in 1578. He had the castle and lordship of Roscommon, in Connaught, and 200*l.* a year rent in O'Farrel's country, given him by Queen Elizabeth for his services in Ireland. He married a lady of the name of Lambe.

were left for them to shoot out with their "calyveres," which Sir Peter perceiving, did so place his calyveres that many of his men were appointed to watch, a few of them to every one of those loops, and by that means they so dogged at those loops, that fundry of them within were slain, and none left who would, or durst, to peep and adventure any more shooting out. Then he caused fundry men with hurdles upon their backs to draw near to the walls where they began to undermine the castle, which they within perceiving desired they might come out and talk with the general, which being granted, he came forth; but, concluding no matter, as he was going into the castle door, and having made fast the inner door, would have drawn the chain of the outward door which, as the manner of that country is, was all of iron; but one Baker, a soldier, did so near and short follow him, that before that he could draw the outer door, he had hurled a great block between the two doors, and so they could not be closed, and by that means they made entry into the castle and recovered it, the spoil whereof was given unto the soldiers, and the custody committed unto Sir Peter, with the territory to the same appertaining, to the use of the queen.

After this, they having intelligence that Sir Edmund was in the county of Kilkenny, and at, or not far from, the town of Kilkenny, they marched unto that town; which town being the Earl of Ormond's the people were all affected and bent to the Butlers, and did lean towards them as much as

they might: but, notwithstanding, because these gentlemen came in the behalf of the queen, and for the suppressing of such as were both rebels and proclaimed traitors, they were admitted and received into the town and there lodged. During their being there they were advertised by their scouts and espials, that all, or the most part of the gallowglaffes of Sir Edmund Butler lay in a certain place about two or three miles from out of Kilkenny: whereupon Sir Peter, assembling all his captains and company, concluded to issue out and to give the onset upon them, and because they would not be escried, they, by order, left all their horseboys behind them, *and being come within the view and sight of them, he then set each man in his place and array, and gave the onset upon them.*¹ Henry Davells being one of the first that gave the entry, and every one of the gentlemen minding to show their goodwill in that service, did very valiantly acquit themselves, and gave an utter overthrow to the enemy, being in number about two hundred, few or none of them being escaped unkilld. Sir Peter himself had with him a case of excellent "*snaphanuses,*" and, at the first entry, discharging the one of them, hurled the same unto another, and overthrew him, the like as he did with the other, of the which he afterwards had one again, and then drawing his sword, did shew that valiantness as every one did give him the commendation both for his experience and wisdom in

¹ From Sir Thomas Phillips's Copy.

directing, and his valiantness in serving. When the fight was ended and the enemies overthrown, every man took a gallowglass axe of theirs who were slain, and carried with them into the town in sign of victory.

This overthrow was not so joyful to the conquerors, but much more grievous and doleful unto Sir Edmund Butler, and to his adherents; for in these did consist his chiefest hope and force, nevertheless, so far was the humour of rebellion entered into him, that he was rather hardened than broken to continue in his folly. Whereupon the Lord Deputy followed his hosting, and journied throughout the whole country and province of Leinster, Sir Edmund Butler being many times within a mile or two of him, and making many braggs; but in the end he was driven to give over and to crave misericordiam.

Sir Peter Carew, whilst he was in Kilkenny, was in great peril to have been murdered by a servant of the Earl of Ormond, who, perceiving that Sir Peter did commonly walk every day in the earl's garden next adjoining to the castle, provided a calyver, and, being charged, he watched in a window in the house for Sir Peter's coming; and having espied him standing in the alley, would have discharged his piece, but it would not take fire. The next day he did try the like again, and likewise the powder would not take fire. And being not yet satisfied, he would have done the same again the third time, and then it

happened the Dean of Cashall,¹ who was chaplain and steward to the earl, was present, and perceiving that he was levelling his piece to have discharged the same upon Sir Peter, was offended therewith, and struck the piece aside, and therewith the match gave fire and the piece discharged. Sir Peter, understanding of this treachery, most heartily thanked God for this delivery; and albeit this wrong touched him very near, yet he more readily forgave the enemy than was hasty to revenge the injury. And then by God's providence, he was miraculously preserved.

After this service ended, Sir Peter returneth to his house at Leighlin, whose name and fame for his nobility, in every respect, was so spread that the gentlemen who dwelled in Munster, and who did hold their lands of his ancestors, did send their several letters unto him, written both in Irish and English, as namely, the Lord Courcye,² the Lord Barry Oge,³ the Mahones, the Macke Swynes, the Odryscoles, and the Odayles, with others, requesting that he would come to the City of Cork, and there they would resort and come unto him, and yield themselves and become his tenants for all such lands as they hold, and whereof he was their lawful and rightful lord, and would also give unto him those rents and services as their predecessors did, and were wont to pay and yield to his ancestors.

Sir Peter Carew having perused these letters, and

¹ William Stapleton, Dean of Cashall, 1559.

² See note 1, p. 101.

³ See note 2, p. 101.

well considered of them, did accept their offers; and because he had not as yet obtained that liberty of her majesty to deal in so weighty a matter, gave the messengers very good entertainment, and promises, that, as soon as he might conveniently, he would satisfy their requests.

Not long after this, Sir Peter came over into England, and after a little stay made at Mohun's Ottery, he repaired to the court, minding to be a suitor for leave to prosecute his suit for the recovery of his lands and title in Munster; but presenting himself before her highness, found not her countenance favourable unto him, for that she, upon advertisement made unto her, did conceive, and also charge him, that he should be the cause and occasion of the Butler's wars and rebellion, and therefore he durst not to enter into his suit until she were persuaded and resolved of the truth, which thing in time he compassed, and then he made his suit, and which, at length, in some sort, he obtained, and had her letters, and the council's letters, unto Sir William Fitzwilliam, then Lord Deputy, and to the council there to this effect; that they should consider of his title, and upon the appearance of the same in justice, they should deal with the parties who hold the said land, and by persuasions to come to some compositions, so as all trial of law might be avoided; which thing, if they could not so bring to pass, that then they should forbear until her further pleasure known.

These letters were forthwith commended to the

writer hereof, and he put in trust to follow the suit therein. But at his coming over the wars or rebellion of James Fitzmorris¹ in Munster, were but then ended, and the country there not fully settled; by reason whereof the Lord Deputy and Council, following the advice of Sir John Perrot,² then Lord President of Munster, considering the matter to be

¹ James Fitzmaurice, the brother of Gerald, the 16th Earl of Desmond. He had been engaged in the rebellion of the Butlers, upon the suppression of which he was, for some time, in prison; but ultimately, together with them, in 1573, pardoned. Fitzmaurice, however, retired to the continent, and having endeavoured, without effect, to obtain assistance from the King of France, he proceeded to Spain with a similar object. Philip sent him to Pope Gregory XIII., who was readily persuaded to adopt his cause. Encouraged by the Pope's favour and benediction, he returned to Spain, where he obtained a small band of soldiers, embarked for Ireland, and landed at Smerwick in July, 1579. He was soon afterwards killed in a petty skirmish, but not before he had raised that rebellion which proved the destruction of the powerful house of Desmond.

² Sir John Perrot, son of Sir Thomas Perrot, Knight, of Haroldstone in the county of Pembroke, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King Henry VIII., by Mary, daughter of James Berkeley, Esquire, whom Naunton describes "as a lady of great honour of the king's familiarity," and, speaking of Sir John Perrot, he adds, "that if we go a little further and compare his picture, his qualities, gestures, and voice with that of the king, which memory yet retains amongst us, they will plead strongly that he was a subreptitious child of the blood royal." Though a man of strong and violent passions, which he scarcely attempted to restrain, he was a brave and noble knight, and rendered distinguished services in Ireland and elsewhere. He was Lord President of Munster from 1571 to 1573, and Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1584 to 1588. Having been thwarted by the vacillation of the court in some of his designs for the conquest of Ulster, he indulged in some impetuous language reflecting upon the Queen's courage. This being reported, with exaggeration, by his enemies, he was brought to trial for treason and condemned to death. Such was his ungovernable rage at this unjust decision, that he died in the Tower before the sentence was carried into effect.

weighty and of great importance, and which touched the most part of the noblemen and gentlemen in that province of their livelihoods and possessions, thought it not good, in anywise, to deal or intermeddle therewith, and to that effect did return their letters of answer to her highness and council; and so this suit took small effect.

The year then next following, the Earl of Essex¹ having a gift of her highness of the province of Ulster, and a commission for the recovery thereof, went over into Ireland with a great retinue, and Sir

¹ Walter Devereux succeeded his grandfather as Viscount Hereford and Lord Ferrers of Chartley in 1559. In the year 1569 he greatly distinguished himself in suppressing the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. For this service he was honoured with the garter in 1572, and the same year was created earl of Essex, being descended by his great grandmother from the noble family of Bouchier, which long bore that title. At this time the troubles in the North of Ireland had risen to a great height, and the Earl of Essex requested permission to undertake an expedition for its settlement. This, being favoured by those who were jealous of his influence with the Queen, he obtained. Having made a bargain with the Queen that in consideration of his paying a moiety of the expense, he should receive an extensive grant of land in that country, he collected an army, and with a large retinue embarked on the 16th August, 1573. The expedition proved most ruinous. Having borrowed from the Queen, upon the security of his estates, large sums of money, on most usurious terms, which were rigorously enforced against him, he suffered great loss, and through the machinations of his enemies his labours in Ireland were not very successful. In the spring of 1575 he returned to England, and was created Earl Marshal of Ireland; but he found his situation so little improved, that he embarked again for that country shortly afterwards, and died at Dublin, 22nd September, 1576. He married Letitia, daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, by whom he left two sons, Robert and Walter, the former of whom succeeded him, and became the celebrated favourite of Queen Elizabeth.

Peter Carew, being one of his comforts, passed over with him ; where, when he had remained awhile and considered the continual troubles, the daily encounterings with the enemies, the excessive expenses, and the doubtful events, and for a soil of land though fertile of itself, yet a savage, wild, and desolate country, and environed with deadly enemies ; did think then of his own estate, and how more necessary it were for him to purchase the possessions of his own lawful inheritance, being in the occupation of such gentlemen as who, of their own free wills, were contented to yield the same into his hands, and to become his vassals and tenants. Whereupon, as soon as occasion served, he took his journey towards Leighlin, and from thence he sent his letters of earnest request into England to the writer hereof, as also to the lady his wife, and to other his friends, for the persuading of him to come and pass over into Munster, and there to travail with the gentlemen, his tenants, for the concluding of his title and right among them ; who, accordingly, yielded to the same, took his shipping at Exmouth for Cork ; but through foul and stormy weather, the ship was driven into the town of Wexford, which is about fifteen miles from Leighlin, where he landed, leaving the ship which not long after, with foul weather, was cast away, both men and goods ; and then made his repair unto Leighlin, where, after he had conferred with Sir Peter Carew, he, the said Sir Peter, gave over his house with the whole entertainment of the garrison and charge of the

country unto his kinsman Peter Carew, and provided a house at the town of Rosse, where he determined to remain and lie until he did hear from this his agent of his success in Munster.

Immediately upon this conclusion, the said Sir Peter and his men rode to Waterford, and there taking leave of Sir Peter, took his journey towards Cork, where, at his coming, it happened the commissioners of that province then kept sessions, and by that means most part of the gentlemen of that country were there. And then this agent, having so good a time and opportunity offered, conferred with them all, who, being persuaded that Sir Peter Carew was determined and minded to come thither and there to dwell among them, if they would yield unto him his right, seemed to be very glad and joyful thereof, and forthwith they all—namely, the Lord Courcy,¹ the Lord Barry Oge,² Mac Artye rioght,³ the Mac Swynes, the O'Mahones, the O'Dalyes, the O'Drifcoles, and

¹ Gerald Lord Courcy, seventeenth Baron Kinsale, son of John, sixteenth Baron, by Sarah, daughter of Donogh McCarthy, of Dowallagh, succeeded his father, 1535, commanded an Irish regiment at the siege of Boulogne, and being instrumental in reducing that place, was knighted by Henry VIII. in the field under the royal standard. In 1569 he accompanied the Lord Deputy in his Munster expedition, and died at a very advanced age in 1599, leaving issue one daughter. His lordship was succeeded by his second cousin, John de Courcy, grandson of Edward, his father's brother.

² David Barry, second son of the Viscount Barrymore. He was always conspicuous for his loyalty to the English Government.

³ Sir Donough M'Carthy, of the sept of Carbery. Joined James Fitzmaurice and the Earl of Clancar in their rebellion in 1569. Died 1576.

foundry others, did conclude with this agent in this manner: first, that they would submit themselves, and their lands, wholly, unto Sir Peter's devotion, and take the same, at his hands, for such reasonable rents as he should assess upon them. And for that which was past they would, in recompense thereof, give him three thousand kine, or cows, which they accounted to be about one year's rent of so much land as they did hold; over and besides the territories which Mac Arty More,¹ the Earl of Desmond,² the Lord Fitzmorris,³ the Senechall of

¹ Sir Donald M'Carthy, or Mac Carthy More, surrendered his estates to the Queen, and received them back again, with the title of Earl of Clancare, county Cork, by patent, dated at Westminster, 24th June, 1565. There is a letter from him in the State Paper Office, dated 27th June, 1565, relative to his request upon his returning to Ireland, in which he signs himself "Clancare," probably for the first time.

² Gerald, sixteenth Earl, entering into rebellion, waged war for nearly ten years against the whole power of the English Government, and eventually was slain in attempting to seize upon a prey of cattle. His head was sent by the Earl of Ormond to the Queen, who caused it to be fixed upon London Bridge. An attainder followed, 25th September, 1582. He married twice, but had issue only by his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Edward Lord Dunboyne.

³ Upon the death of Thomas, 13th Lord Fitzmaurice, Baron of Kerry, in 1549, the title devolved upon his brother Edward, who, dying within a month, was succeeded by Gerald, third son of the tenth lord, who was very soon afterwards killed in Desmond. His brother and successor Thomas, the sixteenth lord, was born in 1502, and at the time the honour accrued to him was, and had been for many years, at Milan, where he held a command in the army of the Emperor Charles V. Whereupon the title was usurped by General Fitzmaurice, the next heir-male apparent, who entered upon Lixnaw and held it about a year, when Joan Hannan, who had been nurse or foster-mother to the Lord Thomas, being then very old, accompanied by her daughter, went in search of him. Taking shipping at

Inokelly,¹ the Lord Barrye of Barrymore,² Sir Cormac Mac Tegge,³ and others did hold, which far exceeded the rest; and these three thousand cows, after a mark the piece, amounteth to the value of

Dingle, she landed in France, proceeded to Milan, and having made him acquainted with her errand, died on her way home. On receiving this intelligence, he returned to Ireland to take possession of his title and estate, which, after an opposition of two years, were surrendered to him. In 1567 Sydney found him faithful, and he came in his train to Kilmallock, but when Munster, in 1581, upon the death of Sir John of Desmond, appeared to be in a state of quiet, and the army greatly reduced, he took advantage of the weakness of the English, and, with his sons, entered into rebellion. Having been defeated by the English troops, his friends and followers dispersed, and himself reduced to great distress, through the intervention of the Earl of Ormond he was received to pardon. Soon after his return to Ireland he married Margaret, second daughter of James, fifteenth Earl of Desmond, by whom he left issue four sons and one daughter. He died 1590.

He was the most handsome man of that age, and of such great strength that within a few months before his death, although then eighty-eight years old, not three men in Kerry could bend his bow.

¹ John Fitz Edmund Fitzgerald pardoned, 1589. Died in prison, 1590.

² James Fitz John Barry (More), Lord Barry and Viscount Buttevant, 9th February, 1556, made an entail of his estate to his cousin James Fitz Richard Barry Roe, Lord of Ibawne, and dying 20th March, 1557, was succeeded by him as Lord of Ibawne and Viscount Buttevant. He had a special livery, 27th April, 1561, by the title of James Barry, Viscount Barrymore. He married Ellen, daughter of Cormac (na hony) Mac Carthy Reagh, and died 10th April, 1581, leaving issue five sons and four daughters.

³ Sir Cormac Mac Tegge was brother to Sir Dermot, Lord of Muskerry. He was always faithful to the English Crown, and in 1568 came to Sir Warham St. Leger, and revealed the practices of Clancarty, James Fitznorris, and M'Donough with the King of Spain. He was knighted by Sir William Fitzwilliam, 1572, and was appointed a Commissioner of Martial Causes 27th December, 1579. In the following year, 1580, being Sheriff of Cork, he defeated and took prisoner James of Desmond.

three thousand marks, and this to be paid unto him within three months after his coming and dwelling among them, which this his agent said should be out of hand, and also that they, from time to time, to furnish him with all kind of victuals meet for his house, for his reasonable money.

When this agreement was thus concluded, and that it was noised throughout the city of Cork that Sir Peter Carew would come and dwell in the country among them, the Earl of Desmond,¹ the Lord Barry of Barymore,² the Lord Roche,³ Sir Cormac Mac Tegge, with fundry other gentlemen, who were then in the city, had great conference with this agent, and pretended great joy, and much gladness, that Sir Peter Carew would come to dwell among them, and that they should have the neighbourhood of so good and a noble gentleman; promising that they would meet him by the way at his coming thitherwards, and bid him welcome to the country; and the earl, extolling him very much, wrote his letters unto him to that effect, requesting that they might join in friendship and live together as good friends, whereof he would be very glad.

Immediately this agent dispatcheth away a mes-

¹ See Note 2, p. 102.

² See Note 2, p. 103.

³ David Roche, son of Maurice Roche, Lord Roche and Viscount Fermoy, by Grania M^cCarthy. He succeeded his father in 1566, in which year he received the honour of Knighthood from Sir Henry Sidney. He married Helena, daughter of James Butler, Baron of Dunboyne, and was succeeded by his son Maurice.

fenger unto Sir Peter Carew with his letters advertizing him of the success in his causes, whereof he rejoiced very much, and freighted forthwith a bark of one Andrew Pyperdos, for the transporting of his household stuff into Munster, and returned the messenger to advertise the same.

This agent in the meantime, according to the instructions given unto him by Sir Peter Carew, by the advice of Sir Henry Davells,¹ provided one house in Cork, and then went from thence to Kinfales, which is ten Irish miles beyond Cork, and there provideth one other, being newly builded after the English manner by one William Galt, then sovereign² of that town, and having compounded with him for the same, he buyeth sugar, and spices of a merchant of Bristol, and "secke"³ of a merchant of Exeter, which were then in the haven of Cork. And by the help of the gentlemen of the country, according to their promises, he was at a point for beeves, muttons, porks, wheat, malt, wood, and all other necessaries for the house; and so there he staid in the town, awaiting daily for the coming of the said Sir Peter.

But God, who is the disposer and worker of all things, it was his pleasure to appoint him to another journey, for when all things were in a readiness to be shipped, and he also appointed to take his journey, he fell sick of an impostumation in the bladder, which

¹ Vide Note, p. 75.

² The designation of the chief Magistrate.

³ "Sack."

was supposed to have grown upon him for want of that ordinary purgation which nature desireth. And this so increased upon him that he was so extreme sick that he lay for dead, and then, of necessity, an incision was made upon him, and he by that means was somewhat eased, and yet, perceiving that he could not endure, nor continue, did set his things in order, and caused a codicil to be made, and to be annexed to his will.

In his sickness he shewed himself what he was, for although the agonies thereof were very sharp, and the pains very extreme, yet most constantly did abide it, and most patiently did accept it, yielding himself wholly to the good will and pleasure of the everlasting God, before whom he poured out continually his prayers, and in praying, did gasp out his last breath, and yield up his spirit. He was very desirous to have spoken with the writer hereof, and whom he willed to be sent for, but whether it were for neglecting to send one for him in time, or for the slackness of the messenger when he was sent that he came not speedily, he came too late, Sir Peter being dead about two days before his coming, for want of which being with him, he discovered not those secrets which he was minded to have put him in trust withal, as did appear by his often calling and inquiring for him.

This writer, being then come to a sorrowful house, and a mournful company, as he was the end of a worthy and a noble gentlemen, so also he saw the

like of his long travails. And now there rested nothing else for him but to yield those offices and duties, to see his dear friend, and an honourable gentleman, to be honourably interred and buried; wherefore, his body being embowelled and thoroughly feared, he was then chested, and so remained and kept in the house where he died from the 27th of November 1575, on which day he died, until the 15th of December then following; on which day he was, by water, carried from Ros unto the city of Waterford, and there buried in all such honourable order as to so honourable a personage did appertain; the Lord Deputy and council of the realm, with all his gentlemen and soldiers attending now upon him, and the mayor of the city, with all his brethren, and an infinite number of people, being present thereat. The manner and solemnity whereof was as followeth: foremost went all the soldiers; namely, the calyvers and the pikemen by two and two, the mouths of their pieces, and the sharp ends of their pikes, downwards; then the trumpeter, clothed in black, founding the dead sound. After him one raised his banner, and then his men went by two and two, all in black. Then followed two carrying his pennon and his standard, and after them went four gentlemen who carried his whole achievement; the first of his helm and crest, the second his target, the third his sword, and the last his coat of arms. After them was carried the corpse by four of his men, in black, garnished with scutcheons of his arms, and next to the same

followed the mourners, and then the Lord Deputy, with the sword before him, and the council, and the mayor and his brethren, and the residue of the company.

As soon as the corpse was brought into the church it was placed in the middle next before the pulpit, and all the aforesaid ensigns placed round about the same, during the time of the sermon. After the same ended the corpse was carried, in the like order, to the grave, which was in the south side of the chancel, next to the altar, and then all his achievement orderly offered up to the Dean of the Church, who then buried the corpse. As soon as the earth began to be cast in, all the trumpeters, being six in number, sounded the whole time of his burial, being almost the space of a quarter of an hour; then, as they had ended, the drums struck up, and therewith all the soldiers discharged their pieces four or five times together, wherewith the church was so full of smoke that one could scarce discern another. Lastly, a number of chambers which were in the churchyard, and all the great ordnance in the town, and in the ships in the river at the quay, were also discharged. All these things being performed they returned all to the house from which they brought the corpse in the like order as before they went.

The next day his herse was set up, being made after the form of a field-bed, covered with black, and with list and rail garnished with scutcheons, and with

yellow “pynyons,¹” full of black lions. And lastly, his whole atchievement with his standard, pynyon, and banner, were set up and hanged over his herse, there to continue as a memorial of a most worthy and noble gentleman, who left behind him many testimonies of his sincerity in religion, of his truth to his prince, faith to his country, uprightnes in conversation, and just dealings with each man, and which are worthy to be registered in the book of fame: for, as Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, when he saw his corpe put into the grave, said, “Here lieth now, in his last rest, a most worthy, and noble, gentle, knight, whose faith to his prince was never yet stained, his truth to his country never spotted, and his valiantnes in service never doubted,—a better subject the prince never had.”

Thus, after my simple manner, and according to such instructions as have been delivered unto me, I have discovered and set forth the course of the life of this gentleman. Now it resteth that I do declare, and set down, his nature, conditions, and disposition; wherein if I should write and set down as much as was in him, some, perhaps, would judge me to speak more of affection than of truth. And yet this much I durst boldly to affirm, that if the planets have any influence in the genesis and course of man’s life, as the genethliaci do seem to affirm, then, certainly, it should seem that they did all consent, and agree, to

¹ Pennons.

pour out of every of their influences to the benefit of this gentleman; for he was most plentifully endowed with the gifts which nature yieldeth concerning the body, and adorned plentifully with such virtues of the mind as do appertain and are incident unto a gentleman; without which virtues there can be no nobility, nor any be a gentleman. For, albeit, he was descended of a noble parentage, as well of his father's side as of his mothers, the one being of the ancient line of the Barons of Carew, and the other of the noble house of the Courteneyes, which is a great ornament, and the first degree of nobility; yet, when virtue, the subsistence and ground of nobility faileth, the nobility also itself decayeth.

Concerning his body: he was of a mean¹ stature, but very well compact, and somewhat broad, big boned, and strongly sinewed, his face of a very good countenance, his complexion swarte or cholyryke,² his hair black, and his beard thick and great. He was of good strength and agility, being skilful and apt to all exercises as do belong and appertain unto a gentleman. And as he wanted not these proportions which nature commonly giveth to the body, so was he adorned with the virtues of the mind which are most incident to a gentleman, and without which no gentleman is to be accounted of, or to be reputed, for a gentleman. And of these virtues, because he had divers and fundry, I will reduce them all into four

¹ Middle.

² Swarthy,—full blooded,—sanguine.

principal virtues, namely, to justice, fortitude, prudence, and temperance.

Concerning Justice, which is the mother of all virtues, and the director of all man's good actions, whether you mean of justice towards God, or towards man, he was zealous in the one, and careful in the other. An earnest promoter of God's true religion, and a patron to all godly preachers, in defence of whom he did oftentimes shew himself both stout and hardy; for in the end of King Henry the VIIIth's reign, and in the time of King Edward the VIth, when the Gospel began to have his entry, one Mr. Symon Hayne, who was the Dean of Exeter,¹ was much maligned and envied at for his sincere and true preaching of the Gospel, and, by his adversaries, sundry times, accused and impeached for the same; but so friendly and firmly did this knight aid and assist him, that little could their malice prevail against him. After him Mr. Alleighe² (who was after Bishop), being an earnest preacher and much inveighing against false doctrine, was so despitefully dealt withal in the Church, that he durst not to adventure to come again into the pulpit. This knight, then, assuming upon him to be his aid and help, together with his uncle, Sir Gawen Carew, guarded him, and brought him to the pulpit sundry

¹ Simon Haynes, elected Dean of Exeter, 23rd July, 1537. In 1547 he was one of the committee appointed to compose the Liturgy of the 1st Edward VI. Died 1552.

² William Alley, Prebend of St. Paul's, appointed Bishop of Exeter, 1560. Died 1570.

times, and there countenanced and supported him against his adversaries. And although he were not learned in the Scriptures, yet such was his earnest, strong, and sincere affection to the furtherance of the Gospel, that he was not only a dear friend to all preachers, a great favourer of all Protestants, and most godly affected to all good and godly men; but did also maintain a preacher of his own to instruct his house and family, and also to preach elsewhere in the countries round about him. And this one thing was noted in him, that he would never sit down to make a meal, nor take his rest, but that he would give always thanks unto God, and praise his holy name. And if it be true what St. Augustin saith: "Seldom dieth that man evil who hath lived well," surely his death did reveal and utter his daily life and conversation; for, being sick, he yielded himself wholly to the good will and pleasure of Almighty God; and perceiving that Lachesis had given over her spinning, and that his end drew onwards, he did not only set all his things in order, but, setting all cares aside, he gave himself wholly to prayer, lamenting his sins, and crying for mercy; and so in prayer he gasped out his breath, and yielded up his spirit. And, as towards God he did endeavour to observe this kind of justice, so did he the like to the politic government, and to every particular man; for he, being a justice of the peace and of the quorum, and Custos Rotulorum in his county, dedicated himself wholly to satisfy the credit committed unto him, and therefore,

with all uprightnes, he would and did minister to every man according to his desert, punishing the evil, succouring the oppressed, and favouring the good; and so precise was he herein, that no corruption could take hold upon him, nor any affection seduce him; only he was sometimes abused by such as, under simplicity and smooth speeches, would bring unto him sinister informations, and he, judging the best, more hastily credited than tried them; but when he once had learned the truth, he could not lightly brook them any more, nor shew them any favour or countenance. And as for his private dealings with private men—forasmuch as the same consisteth chiefly in beneficence and liberality, there could not any man be more or better affected herein than he was, and whose disposition was such that a man might say he was born to be friendly to all men, and liberal to every man; for his purse, his apparel, his horses, or whatsoever he had, it was common to his friends, and ready for every man, and rather would lack himself than his friends should want; a continual giver he was, but was never taker, having in mind and in mouth, always the saying of our Lord and Master, Christ, “It is better to give than to take.” If a man should particularly discourse the great gifts and large benefits which he, in his time, had bestowed, they should not be so infinite as strange; only it was to be lamented that he had not respect to the cautions which Cicero gave, that is, “no man should give to any man, who should thereby be rather the worse

than better, and that the liberality should be no greater than the ability of the giver; and, lastly, to give to each man according to his desert," which considerations being not observed, there ensued many inconveniences which blemished so noble a virtue.

Next unto this virtue of justice, he was highly commended for his Fortitude, as well of the mind as of the body; for if fortitude be a virtue which subdueth the mind from evil lusts, restraineth her from wrath and malice, and maketh a conquest over all wickedness; and do, also, indurat the body to abide all labours, to sustain all troubles, to shun no perils, and to outrun death itself in good causes and for the common wealth; then this worthy knight wanted not his just commendations herein. For, albeit, he had his imperfections, yet was he not known to be wrapped in the dissolute net of Venus, nor embrowed with the cup of Bacchus, he was not carried with the blind covetousness of Plutus, nor yet subject to malice, envy, or any notorious crime; but had a mind free from all such foul vices and incumbrances. And as concerning the valiantness of his body, there was not any man lightly who could excel him therein; for, whether there were any service to be done at sea or at land, at home or abroad, in time of war or peace, he was one and the same man, always most ready and forward therein, for no pains could discourage him, no perils daunt him, no fear quail him, nor enemy appal him; but with the first he would be foremost, as sundry examples are to be alleged hereof, to his

great commendation and praise. And surely he was no more valiant, but was as prudent, wise, and circumspect, as well in civil causes as in martial affairs. For, albeit, he were not greatly learned, yet being very perfect in the French tongue, and skilful in the Italian, he was studious in all such works as were set forth in those tongues, or in the natural speech of his country; and especially in such as did concern the government of a commonwealth, or the teaching of martial affairs. If there were any question to be proponed, or any argument to be discourfled, whether it were in geometry or any of the mathematics, or in causes of policies and government, or in the feats of martial affairs; sharp was his understanding, pithy were his arguments, and deep was his judgment; for which he was had the more in admiration, because the fame (came) from a mind not given to bragging and foolish ostentation; but well affected, earnestly bent, and most desirous to learn, that he might understand, and, in understanding, to perform in actions the effects thereof, and which indeed he did; for besides his advice and counsel, ready in all matters, such was his skill and experience in martial affairs, that he could pitch a camp, martial a field, set array, and order the battle, with such wisdom, dexterity, and policy, as should be to the best advantage and safeguard of the army, and the most annoyance to the enemy; besides the skill he had in directing the government, and knowledge (of) what appertained to a general, what to a captain, what to

a foldier, and finally to all other things incidental and appertaining to the course of wars, either at the seas or at the land, it is apparent, and whereof, in his lifetime, he gave and yielded many proofs.

And as concerning architecture, whether it were for the building of a house, moulding of a ship, devising of a fort, making of a platform, or for doing of any thing whatsoever concerning buildings, his advice was ready and his skill good; and wherein he took such pleasure, that he did not only bestow great masses of money therein of his own, as in making of houses, building of ships, for erecting of mills, and many other like; but would also edge, procure, and cause others to do the like. And, albeit, the most part of men, which are endowed with so many good qualities and excellent virtues, have commonly such faults and follies as which do drown the fame; yet such was the temperance of this knight, and with such circumspection he would order his doings, that he would not attempt any thing but with good advice and discretion, by which it appeared that his reading of the works of Cicero, wherein he had great pleasure, was not altogether fruitless unto him, nor without profit; for, as he saith, “Temperance is the virtue which directeth reason to make choice of good things and to eschew the evil; and to use all pleasures in such mediocrity, as should be according to reason and answerable to honesty, which virtue is not to be restrained (as some would) to a moderation consisting only in the use of meats and drinks; because it hath many other

members, and consisteth in sundry other parts, as in modesty, shamefacedness, abstinence, chastity, honesty, moderation, sobriety, and such like; all which do concern and touch the whole life and behaviour of man in all honest actions." And, if without offence, I might confer the life of this worthy knight with these virtues, it shall appear that he was not altogether void of them; for he did so moderate the lusts of the body and the affections of the mind by the rule of reason, that he was not known, at any times, to be outrageous in malice, envy, anger, lusts, sensualities, and such like, neither would he in words utter any speeches which favoured any ribaldry, filthiness, or uncomeliness; neither in act would do the thing which was dishonest and foul. Likewise he so contented himself with that which was his own, as that he neither inordinately sought other men's goods, nor unlawfully desired another man's wife, nor any strange woman: whereof I, the writer hereof, upon my own knowledge, can this affirm, that during the time of my acquaintance with him, I could never perceive nor see any countenance, gesture, behaviour, or any signs, at all, of his liking that way. For he neither would gladly be in company with any woman of a suspected name, nor whereby he himself might be had, or grow into, any suspicion, and, therefore, in these respects, I may, without offence, compare him with Paulus Æmylius and Publius Scipio, two noble Romans, most commended for these virtues. And as for honesty (I mean not that honestum which

Cicero accounteth and defineth to be a perfect and an absolute goodness), but that constancy of mind to make choice of good things, and so to live in virtue as whereof good report and commendation may ensue; and also to moderate and keep all things within their proper bounds and limits, as neither exceeding too far by temerity, nor to stay too short through lethernes,¹ wherein how well he was bent and disposed, I will refer to the judgment of them who know how precise he was therein. And, lastly, concerning his Sobriety, which consisteth in the moderate use of meats and drinks, and which is so excellent and necessary a virtue, as without it all other virtues lose their grace; he was so moderate and temperate therein, that he was not known, at any time, to have been distempered, nor to exceed his bounds; for he abhorred gluttony and detested drunkenness; and yet for a fault it was imputed unto him that as he could not guide his purse within the rule of liberality, no more could he, many times, satisfy his eye with sufficiency; for if any personage of countenance were at any time invited at his table, although the same were sufficiently fraughted with store and plenty, yet he thought he had never enough, but all was too little, although, of himself, he was of a very competent diet, and contented with that which was sufficient.

Thus, after my simple manner, I have described

¹ Softness, weakness.

the course of the life, manners, qualities, and conditions of this noble and worthy knight, according to such instructions as have been delivered unto me, and as, in some part, of my own knowledge, I have collected and gathered ; which I know is not so effectually done, nor so exactly performed, as the matter itself requireth, and as the worthiness of the person deserveth ; nevertheless, having done my good will herein, I pray the good acceptation thereof, hoping that which by me is omitted by others shall be supplied and amended.



DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT.

THE arms on the monument in the annexed plate agree with the matches recorded in the Pedigree No. 1, Appendix I. The escutcheons are not, however, arranged in proper order, and appear, in some instances, to have been subjected to transposition. We have numbered them chronologically, agreeing with the pedigree, beginning with the first on the left, and continuing along the top. These are in regular succession as far as No. 5. No. 6 should represent the match with the heiress of Odrone, but this is wanting; and as this alliance is too important to have been omitted, we conclude that it was recorded on the shield which is missing at the bottom on the left. This view is confirmed by the Odrone coat being found marshalled in its proper place on the shield surmounting the monument. Numbers 7, 8, 9, 10, and 13, the latter of which should occupy the place of the missing shield, are all incorrectly arranged. It is probable that at some time or other they have come off, and have been improperly reset. From No. 11 they continue in regular order down the right hand side, and, with the exception of the vacant space, which we have numbered 6, for Odrone, up the left, finishing with the shield representing the marriage of Sir George Carew with the daughter of Sir Lewis Pollard. The shield which should record the marriage of Leonard Baron Carew with the daughter of Sir Edmund Fitzalan, appears to have been altogether omitted.

The two escutcheons on the brackets supporting the columns, numbered 18 and 19, represent the arms of Hooker, who erected the monument to perpetuate the memory of his Patron and Friend.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ARMS ON THE MONUMENT.

1. CAREW,—or., three lions, passant, in pale, sa., impaling HARCOURT,—or. two bars, gu.
2. CAREW,—impaling BIGOD,—party, per pale, or. and sa., a lion ramp., gu.
3. CAREW,—impaling FITZ STEPHEN,—per pale, ar. and erm., a saltier counterchanged.
4. CAREW,—impaling COURCY,—ar., three eagles, displayed, gu.
5. CAREW,—impaling TUIT,—quarterly, ar. and gu.
6. CAREW,—impaling DIGON,—ar., three adders, enwrapped, vert.
7. CAREW,—impaling MOHUN of Ottery Mohun,—quarterly, 1st and 4th, gu., a manche, erm., hand, ppr., holding a fleur de lis, or. (*Mohun*); 2nd, vair, chief chequy, or. and gu. (*Fleming*); 3rd, gu., two bendlets, wavy, or. (*Brewer*).
8. CAREW,—impaling TALBOT,—or., a lion ramp., gu.
9. CAREW,—impaling MOHUN of Dunster,—or., a cross, engrailed, sa.
10. CAREW,—impaling MARTYN,—or., two bars, gu.
11. CAREW,—impaling BONVILLE,—sa., six mullets, or., 3, 2, and 1, pierced, gu.
12. CAREW,—impaling COURTENAY of Haccombe, quarterly, 1st and 4th, or. three torteauxes, a label of three points, az., (*Courteney*), 2nd, ar., three chevronels, sa., (*Archdeacon*), 3rd, ar., three bendlets, sa. (*Haccomb*).
13. CAREW,—impaling CARMINOW,—sa., a bend, or. a label of five points, gu.
14. CAREW,—impaling DINHAM,—gu., four fusils, in fess, erm.
15. CAREW,—impaling HUDDERSFIELD,—ar., a fess between three boars, statant, sa., a crescent for a difference.
16. CAREW,—impaling COURTENAY of Powderham,—quarterly, 1st and 4th, or., three torteauxes. (*Courteney*), 2nd and 3rd, or., a lion ramp., az. (*Redvers*).
17. CAREW,—impaling POLLARD,—quarterly, 1st and 4th, ar., a chev. between three mullets, gu., 2nd and 3rd, a chev. between three escallops, gu.
- 18 and 19. HOOKER,—ar., a fess, vairy, counter vair, between two lions, passant, guardant, sa.

The escutcheon surmounting the Monument is charged with the arms of the following families, quarterly :

1. CAREW ; 2. FITZ STEPHEN ; 3. DE COURCY ; 4. TUIT ;
5. DIGON ; 6. MOHUN of Ottery Mohun ; 7. FLEMING ; 8. BREWER ; 9. BONVILLE ; 10. ARCHDEACON ; HACCOMB ; 12. CARMINOW ; 13. DINHAM ; 14. COURTENAY of Haccomb ; 15. ARCHES ; 16. HUDDERSFIELD.



APPENDIX A.

*Sir John Wallop to the Privy Council.*¹

PLEASETH it Your good lordshippes to be advertised, that your letters dated at Oking the 27th of July at mydnight, I have receyved ; perceyving by the same howe the Kinges Majeste hath taken our procedinges hetherto in good part, wherof I do not a little rejoyse, trusting, or this tyme, your lordshippes knoweth further what we have don, as well by writing, as by the declaracion of Mr. Vaughan,² by whom I sent my said letters ; and sith that tyme we have made such diligence, that this day are arryved within a leage of Bettune ; and in passing by Therwane, bycause I wold gladly have drawn some of the Frenchmen owte, layed for them three severall ambushes, otherwise then hath ben used heretofore by the Bourgonians, whiche they liked very well. Furst, I layd ther men of armes of St. Omers in ambusche after their accustomed maner ; advising them if the Frenchmen did not issue owte within an hower after the alarum geven by the vancurrors, that then they shuld departe and retyre, thinking they wold followe : yf they dyd, then the second ambusche to cut betwixt them and home, whiche was Mr. Crumwell,³ and Mr. Carowe, with a good bande of our horsemen ; they lying still the space of 2 howers, and wold not

¹ State Papers, vol. ix., p. 457.

² Stephen Vaughan. King's Agent in Flanders, 1538-41, 1546. Governor of Merchant Adventurers, 1538. Ambassador, 1541. Clerk of Dispensations, 1544.

³ Sir Richard Crumwell, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, 1540. Councillor of the Army in Flanders, 1543.

issue owte, whereupon they retyred as thothers dyd before, thinking that they shuld have ben followed: and if they had, the thirde ambusche being of Ayre shuld have cut betwixt them and home. And perceyving they wold not be drawen out by that bayte, then a hundred of the garrison of St. Omers toke up behynde every of them so many fotemen, arkebusiers, and strait gave alarum before the towne, putting their gunners in trenshes redly to receyve the Frenchemen at their issuing owt; where was a very good skyrmoche, and divers of the Frenchemen's horse killed, and well larded with arroes, the same being don by certeyne archers of my Lord Wardyns¹ bande on horsebacke, and in the said skyrmoche was overthrowen the lieutenaunt of Monsieur de Villebon, Capitaine of the said towne, not taken, but reskewed by others. In whiche skyrmoche our men retyred with honour and toke no hurt. Then after cam Mr. Cromewell and Mr. Carowe, leaving their enseigne and trowpe of horsemen without danger of gunneshotte, and gallyerdly gave a hott skyrmoche unto those that issued owte, and drave them back to the towne gates and bullwarkes, in which skyrmoche the northern men dyd their partes very wel, as also other our archers that was there. And to that skyrmoche was shotte many grete peces of ordenaunce, and yet none hurt with the same, notwithstanding the said skyrmoche dured a gret while. And, after that Mr. Cromewell was retyred to the ryrewarde, issued out of the towne 24 light horses, there not being there any others then the Capitaines of the said ryrewarde, which was Mr. Deveres, Mr. Peter Carowe, Mr. Wardner, and thelder brother of

¹ Sir Thomas Cheyney, L.L.D., Ambassador in France, 1522, 1526, 1546. Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, 1526. Treasurer of Calais, K.G., 1539. Treasurer of the Household. 1540-47. Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1540-48.

the Staffordes, and one Pcte, a servant of my Lord Wardyns, with a staff without any harnes. They perceyving the Frenchemen to be so nighe, and the hoope of our horsemen that was in sight, went and gave the skyrmoche vnto them ; and chaunced that my Lord Wardyn's man rencountred with a man of arms, and toke his staff from hym. Then the said man of arms drewe his sworde, and made towards Wardner ; who had but his target and jeavelin, and upon a little nag ; perceiving the Frenche man to cumme so furiously dyd make towards him with a goode courage. The Frencheman, seeing that, turned from hym ; and with the same Wardner did followe so fast after, that he did thrust his javelin into his horse, yet the Frencheman escaped awaye. In whiche skyrmoche the forsaid Stafford shott many arrowes, and strake a horse or 2, as also a gentleman throughe the legge. Mr. Cromwell and Mr. Carowe, perceyving them to be somewhat in danger, sent dyvers of the northern men to their releyve, so as, if the Frenchemen had not made good diligence homeward, a good sort of them had cumme short home, and were chased by the said Northern men unto their towne gates.

The same night, after our camp was lodged, for tholde acquaynetance I had with the Captaine of Therwaine, I sent him a letter of visitacion, the copie wherof, and likewise his answerre therunto, I send your Lordshippes herewith.¹ And theeffect of my said letter was, that, seying he wold send owt no greter nombre to skyrmoche with us, if he had any gentlemen under his charge that wold breke any staves for their ladis sake, I wold the next morning apoint 6 gentlemen to mete with them. Whereunto erley in the morning he sent me a letter, that he had apointed 6 gentle-

¹ These enclosures are not now to be found.

men to mete me by the waye at 9 of the clocke, with certen condicions, as doth appere by hys said letter; which hower I kept, and observed the condicions accordingly. And those I sent to runne against them by their own requestes (saving 2 of myn own men), was Mr. Howard, Peter Carowe, Markeham, Chelley of Callais, with my 2 men, Cawverley and Hall. And by the reoport of those that did behold them, aswell strangers as others, they dyd rune well, and made very fayre courses. As for Mr. Howard, at his furst course, brake his staff in the myddes of the Frenchman's curayse gallierdly; Markeham strake an other upon the hedpece, like to have overthrowen him; Peter Carowe also brake his staff very well, and had another broken on hym. Cawverley, my man, was preased to make the fairest courses of them all; yet by the yvill runnyng of a Frencheman's horse, that fiede owt, strake hym under the arme pitt, throughe the body, and persed his harnes in the backe, so as he is soocer hurt and in grete danger, not hable to be brought backe to our camp, but carryed to Thurwanne, where he is well entreated; this morning haveing hard from thens, have some hope of his life; and the thing shall put hym most in danger is the gusset that is stryken into his body. I wold wische to God the next kynesman I have (not being my brother) had excused hym.

This afternowne I receyved letters from the Regent,¹ as also from the Grete Master², wherby I do perceyve that the Frenche do threten us, and wold gladly take us at some advauntaige, whiche I thanke God they have not hetherto don; ne have lost any man, sythe they of Callais

¹ Mary, daughter of Philip, king of Castile, born 1505, sister of the Emperor Charles Vth, married Lewis, king of Hungary, became his widow, 1526; Regent or Governess of the Netherlands, 1530—1558. Died, 1558.

² Vide Note 2, p. xxx.

and Guysnes departed from me, whych ys by reason of the grete obedyence of those that be here with me ; and after the forme that I do dayly marche, I trust they shall take but litle advantayge of me. Tomorrow I shall mete with the Grete Master, who doth mynd to assemble all his powre hereabowts, intending to do somme good exploit. And in case he mynd to go unto Mounstrell, and mysse of his purpose there, then I woll do my best to put in his hed to burne Base Bullen, whiche may be well don ; and after if he woll, returne by Arde, making semblant to laye siege there, and the secret matier to be put then in ure, like as the Bayly of Guysnes hath insenced the Kinges Majestie. It might so chance that somme good then myght ensue therupon, for that and ther siege togethers shuld put them in very grete feare, being of thoppynion, untyl suche tyme as I have spoken with the Grete Master, the said Bayly do praictis no further therin. For althoughe the fying of the same shuld do gret hurt, yet the towne may be well kept upon hope of relieve ; and tharmey being before it, they may be in dispaire, seeing they were in so grete feare at the retourne of them at Callais and Guyenes, rekening we wold have cumme with them to have layed the siege. Of this I was sundry wayes advertised.

And not having other matier at this tyme, do commytt Your good Lorshippes unto Almighty God. From our Camp besides Bittune, the last of July, (1543).

Your Lordshippes most bounden to commaunde,

JOHN WALLOP.

*To my very good Lordes of the Kinges
Majesties most honorable Counsell.*

must be emptyd of all her vitayles, ordnance, and baliste, during the busynes, which wilbe a great weakening to the navye, yf any thing in the meane tyme shall happen. . . . the Gret Venezian, which ys brought nerer the haven to take yn baliste, and the too hulkes, the Jhesus, and the Sampson, which ys brought unto the Mary Ros, be caus they must wey her upp.”¹

*The Duke of Suffolk, the Lord Admiral, and
Lord Seint John^s to Paget.*

Portsmouth, 5th August, 1545.

“And as touching the Mary Rose, her sailes and saile yardes be layd on land, and to her mastes there is tyed three cables, with other ingens to wey her upp, and on every syde of her a hulk to sett her uppright, which is thought by the doers therof, God willing, to be doon tomorrow, one tyme in the day; and that doon, they purpose to discharg her of water, ordenaunce, and a other thinges, with as moch diligence as is possible, and, by littell and litle, to bring her nerer to the shore, and as we shall, from tyme to tyme, woork with her, to save her, His Majesty shalbe advertised accordingly.”²

The Viscount Lisle to Paget.

Portsmouth, 5th August, 1545.

“The Mary Roos (which I trust with the leave of God, shall be brought uppe right ones to morrowe) hath so chardged all the Kyniges Majesties shipwryghtes with

¹ State Papers, vol. i., p. 801.

² Sir William Poulet, Comptroller of the Household, 1530; Treasurer of the Household, 1537-1540; Lord Saint John, 1539; Master of the Wards, 1540; Privy Councillor, November, 1542; Lord President, 15,—K.G., 1543; Lord Chamberlain, 1543; Lord Steward, 1545; Chief Justice in Eyre, south of the Trent, 1545; Earl of Wiltshire, 1550; Marquis of Winchester, 1551; ancestor of the Dukes of Bolton, died 1572.

³ State Papers, vol. i., p. 803.

makyng engyns for the same, that they have had no leasure tattend any other thyng, sithens His Majesties departure hence.”¹

The Duke of Suffolk² to Paget.

Portsmouth, 7th August, 1545.

“My Lorde Admyrall, being this present Friday at dynner with me, told me that he had a good hope of the waying upright of the Mary Rose this afternone or to-morrow.”³

The published State Papers give no further information upon this interesting subject, but we find the following letter in the State Paper Office, from which it appears that notwithstanding all these vast preparations, and the hopes and expectations of the projectors, the attempt was an utter failure.

The Lord Admiral and Lord St. John to Paget.

Master Secretary, after our right hartie commendacions, This shalbe tadvertise you, that this daye thitalians⁴ which had the doying of the wayeng of the Mary Roos haue been with my Lord Chamberlayn and me to signify vnto vs that after this sourt which they haue followed hetherto they can by no meanes recouer her, for they haue

¹ State Papers, vol. i., p. 806.

² This is the last letter from the Duke of Suffolk, who died at Guildford on the 22nd of this month.

³ State Papers, vol. i., p. 807.

⁴ In the Privy Council Book of King Henry VIII. (Harl. M.S., 256) a notice occurs, under date of the 8th December, 1545, of a warrant to the Treasurer of the Chamber, to deliver to Peeter de Andreas and Simon de Marine, Venetians, 40 marks sterling between them, by way of the King's reward for their pains taken about the weighing of the Mary Rose. This, therefore, gives us the names of the persons engaged in this attempt.

alredye broken her foremast, which they were comyng to declare vnto my Lord greate Mr,¹ but his Lordshipp were departed from hence a letill before, and nowe they desyer to prove an other waye, which ys to dragg her as she lyeth vntill she come into shallow ground, and so to set her upright, and to this they axe vj days prouf. And forasmoch as these great hulkes, which haue been occupied all this while aboute the wayeng of her, may not well be spared oute of this armye if we should chaunce to mete with thencmies, and considering, neverthelesse, thimportaunce of the thing if she may be recouered, aswell for the shipp as also for the goodly Ordnance that is in her; I, the Lord Admirall, haue appointed those too hulkes which were stayed to haue gone furth with the fleete, tattend and to serue for the recouery of the said shipp and Ordnance, wherein assuredly they shall stand the Kinges Ma^{ty} in more stede then thoughte they shuld goe with tharmye, and allso they wooll not be put in order for vs to any purpose, for they must have sparre deckes and wast nettyng with pourtes cut, which apperith vnto vs nowe, that the same wooll not be overcome so soone as we thought it wold, wherfore, in our poore opinions, they cannot be so well imployed as to be set on work about the recouery of this shipp. And as touching the booke of the Shippes with the Capitaignes names, I, the lord admirall, do staye the returne of the same vntill I haue wourd agayne from you concernyng the Kings Maie^{ty}s pleasure to be knowen for the placyng of one Capitaigne or too, to haue the chardge of his highnes rowyng peeeces, whercof I besecche you that I may be advertised with

¹ The Lord Steward was called the Grand (or Great) Master of the Household.

spede. And thus we byd you right hartilly well tofare.
At Portesmouth the ix of August.

Your assured loving frendes,
JOHN LISLE. W. SEINT JOHN.

It does not appear whether this second attempt was ever made. Probably it was not, as we find the fleet sailed immediately after the date of the last letter, and no further correspondence on the subject is traced in the State Paper Office. If it were ever undertaken it undoubtedly failed. Sir William Monson,¹ in his *Naval Tracts*, Book 1, stating the disasters of some of King Henry VIII's ships, says: "The *Mary Rose* next to the *Regent* in bigness and goodness² after this was cast away (July, 1545) betwixt Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, the very same day King Henry boarded her and dined in her.³ Part of the ribs of this ship I have seen with my own eyes."

So this unfortunate ship rested at the bottom of the sea, and was forgotten, until, in our own days, after the lapse of nearly three hundred years, some of her remains have been brought to light. Some fishermen, who had from time to time experienced considerable losses by the entanglement of their nets and lines in something at the bottom of the sea, in the year 1836, applied to Messrs.

¹ Sir William Monson was born in 1569, and died in 1643. His *Tracts* were published in 1623.

² Derrick, in his *Rise and Progress of the Royal Navy*, shows that the *Mary Rose*, though but 600 tons burthen, was second only to the *Regent* in the King's Navy, and when the *Regent* was burnt in an action with the French fleet in 1512, she, for a time, was the largest ship until the *Henry Grâce à Dieu* was built. The latter ship was launched at Greenwich in 1515.

³ This is an error. The King dined with the Lord Admiral in the *Great Henry*. See narrative, p. 32.

Dean and Edwards, to descend and discover what was the cause of the obstruction of their daily occupation. These gentlemen, who, by means of their improved diving apparatus, had already recovered several guns, and objects of interest, from the wreck of the "Royal George," complied with their request. On descending they found that the fishermen's lines were entangled in a piece of old timber, which they extricated, and prosecuting further search in the vicinity, they discovered some more old timber, and a 24-pounder brass gun of excellent workmanship, bearing an inscription which showed it to have been cast in the year 1542. This occurred in the month of June. In the following September they recovered two other brass guns, and two iron guns. As an encouragement to their exertions, Messrs. Dean and Edwards received from the Lords of the Admiralty a grant of the exclusive right of prosecuting their operations on this wreck, and the Board of Ordnance allowed them, as salvage, the full value of the brass guns they had recovered, the usual rate of salvage being two-thirds of the value. They accordingly proceeded with such diligence and spirit that they raised several other guns, some iron and stone shot, two archers' bows, and a perfect human skull. In the year 1840 they recovered a brass culverin, in an excellent state of preservation, and which, for beauty of design and workmanship, is unsurpassed by anything produced at the present day. This gun had an inscription similar to the one first found, fixing its manufacture in the year 1542. Several iron guns and swivels, as well as chambers and parts of guns, were also raised. Some of these iron guns were of the earliest description of ordnance known, being constructed of wrought iron bars and hoops, having the bore completely through, with

a perfect muzzle at each end. One of these, a 32-pounder of great length, was firmly embedded in a large and heavy piece of timber, and contained powder and a stone shot. These iron guns are so antique in form, and rude in construction, that a writer,¹ at the time of their discovery, raised a doubt whether they formed a part of the regular armament of the *Mary Rose*, and suggested that they must have been used for ballast, or some other illegitimate purpose.

All the brass guns were paid for by the Board of Ordnance, and are preserved in the Royal Repository at Woolwich. A selection of the most curious specimens was also made from the iron guns (the remainder being left at the disposal of Messrs. Dean and Edwards), and two of these are now (1856) at the Tower, on the right-hand side of the entrance to the Horse Armory. They are very remarkable as being the most ancient examples of ordnance. The wooden bed of one of them, above spoken of, was unfortunately destroyed in the Tower fire in the year 1841.

Since writing the above, my attention has been called by Sir Henry Ellis to a little book published by Horsey, at Portsea, in 1844, containing all that is known respecting this ill-fated ship, collected, I believe, by Sir Frederick Madden. It contains but little more than the facts above narrated, except some extracts from Hall, Hollinshed, and Stowe's *Chronicles* relating to the event, and a description of an engraving of the loss of the ship, in the Sessions House of the Corporation at Portsmouth, from a contemporary painting formerly existing at Cowdry House, Sussex, an account of which is given by Sir Joseph Ayloffe in vol. iii. *Archæologia*, p. 261.

¹ Mr. C. D. Archibald, *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii., p. 386.

APPENDIX C.

The Viscount Lisle to King Henry VIII.¹

Yr may plese Your moste Excellent Majeste to be advertysed, that the second daye of this present, Your Majestes Army, to the nombre of 6 or 7 thousand, landyd at a certeyn place in Normandye, callyde Me-movale, thre myles be weste Treporte; where as we founde, in redynes to defende our landyng, thre ansynes of your enymys, in soche a place, that with smalle diffy-culty they mought encombred us, moche other wys then they dyd; but they were so sharply assayled, that within a while they gave us place. The maner wherof, with allso our mercheng by lande towards Treportt, styll in the face of your enymyes, who assemblyd more and more in gret troupes, and now and then, with some horsemen, sccircumished with us, as they dyst; haveing with us certeyn smalle peces, drawne by force of men, with allso thentry into the sayde Treporte, with one of our wynges only, the resydue of your army kepinge the field in battayle, the mane tyme, and burning to or thre villayges next adjoyninge unto the sayde Treporte, with a gentyllmans howse or too in theym; and fynally, the bourninge of the sayde Treporte, and the Abbey ther; with allso our retyre, and imbarking agayne of our men; this berer, Sir Peter Carew, can better acerteyne your Majeste, then I can write: who dyd your Majeste, for his owne parte, soche scrvis, that I can do noles of my duty, but comend the same to Your Highnes. The for-

¹ State Papers, vol i., p. 829. The original letter is holograph.

wardnes, also, of all other gentyllmen, and all Your Majestes subjectes, I shall moste humbly beseche Your Majeste that I may declare vnto the same, at my comenge to Your Highnes; which, God willyng, shalbe asone as I have gyuen order, in soche other thinges as I have in chardge of Your Majeste to do.

Ferder more, my fello Wynter,¹ Your Majestes Treasurer here; hath desyeryde me to signifye unto Your Highnes, that yt shalbe moche requisyte that some money were sent hither unto him, for the payment of your army; which, as he sayth, will amounte, at this next paye, unto seven thousand 500*l.*, which he declared unto Mr. Secretary, at his laste beyng with Your Majeste.

And thus I beseche the Lyvyng God allwayes to preserve Your Excellent Majeste in longe and prosperous felysite, with contynewall desyer of Your most Royall harte. Scribled in the Harry Grace a Dieu, the 3rd of September, thwarrt of Arrundell, at 8th in the morning, comenge towards Porchemouth, where I trust, with all your army, receiving those which be apoynted for the Narro sees, to be this daye, by too of the klokke in the after noone. And have not lost of your subjectes thre men; whereof too of them wilfully cast away theymsylves, and moo wolde have dun so yf they had not byn lokyd unto.

Your Majestes most humble,
moste obeydent, and most bounden
Subject, and Servant,

Superscribed

JOHN LISLE.

To the Kinges most Excellent Majeste.

Hast, hast, for
thy lyffe.

¹ John Wynter, Treasurer of the Admiralty.

APPENDIX D.

The Lord Seymour,¹ Lord High Admiral, to Sir Peter Carew,² Sir Thomas Denys,³ and Sir Richard Grenfield,⁴ for Devonshire, and John Grenfield,⁵ Sir

¹ Thomas Seymour, 4th son of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in the county of Wilts, by Margery, 2nd daughter of Sir Henry Wentworthe, of Nettlestead, in Suffolk. The marriage of his sister, Jane Seymour, to King Henry VIII, in 1536, brought him into prominent notice. In 1537 we find him a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and receiving extensive grants of lands. In 1542 he was sent on a mission to Ferdinand, King of Hungary; and in 1543, he went as Ambassador to the Regent of Flanders. In the same year he was second in command of the expedition against the King of France; and was made Master of the Ordnance for life, and Admiral of the Fleet. On the accession of his nephew, Edward VI, he was created Lord Seymour, of Sudeley, and, upon the surrender of his patent as Master of the Ordnance, was appointed Lord High Admiral. Shortly afterwards he married Queen Katherine Parr; but his daring ambition and violent character having led him into intrigues against the authority of his brother, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, he was attainted by Parliament, and beheaded on the 20th March, 1549.

² Sir Peter Carew and John Grenfield were included in this commission by the Lord High Admiral as being Vice-Admirals for the counties of Devon and Cornwall, respectively. See letter from Lord Seymour to the Council, stating the directions he had given in this commission.—State Paper Office, Dom. Cor., Edward VI, vol. iv, No 41

³ See note p. 49.

⁴ Sir Richard Grenvil, of Bideford, Knight, son of Roger Grenvil, of that place, by Thomasine, daughter of Thomas Cole, of Slade, Esq. He married Mary, daughter and co-heir of Sir John St. Leger, of Annerly, (see note 3, p. 55.), and left issue Sir Bernard, who, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Philip, and niece of Sir William Beville, was father of the immortal Sir Beville Grenvil, ancestor of the present Marquis of Bath. Sir Richard was Sheriff of Devon, 24 Henry VIII.

⁵ Vice-Admiral for Cornwall.

Hugh Trevanion,¹ and Sir William Godolphin,² for Cornwall.

After my right hartye commendacons. As policye ought to prevent present mischief, and manhode to mete with Iniuryes apparauntlye offred, so is it convenient rather to be afore hands, or, at the least, even, with a suspicious frende, then to forbcare and suffer wronge till wee have susteyned losse; and then, in thende, fynde him an openne enemye. The frenche menne have of late not onelie takenne fyve of our crayors, whereof they burnt three, and the menne in themme all have sent to the gallyes, but, allso, haue takenne another shippe, ladenne with Islande fyshe, and parte of our menne have put to ransome, and the rest, in like maner, sent to the galleys. And Peter Stroze,³ passing the seas, being tolde by the

¹ Sir Hugh Trevanian, of Caerhayes, in Cornwall, married Sybilla, daughter of Sir Thomas Morgan, and sister to the wife of Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsden. This family of Trevanian failed in the male line on the death of William Trevanian, of Caerhayes, Esq., in 1767, when his sisters inherited the estates as co-heirs; Caerhayes devolving upon the elder who married John Bettesworth, Esq., of an ancient Sussex family, father of the present owner of Caerhayes.

² Sir William Godolphin, son of William Godolphin, of Morval, in the co. of Cornwall, by Margaret, one of the co-heirs of John Glinne. He was a person of great note in the reign of Henry VIII, who, for his services, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and constituted him Warden and Chief Steward of the Stannaries. He several times represented the county in Parliament, and served the office of Sheriff in the 21, 25, and 30 of Henry VIII; 3 Edward VI, and 10 of Elizabeth. He also greatly distinguished himself by his military prowess, particularly at the siege of Boulogne. Carew, in his survey of Cornwall, ranks him among the principal worthies of the county, and says,—“He demeaned himself very valiantly beyond the seas, as appears by the scars he brought home, no less to the beautifying of his fame than the disfiguring of his face.”

He married Blanche daughter of Robert Langdon, Esq., but leaving no male issue, the estate passed to his nephew, Francis Godolphin, Esquire.

³ Peter Strozzi (son of Philip Strozzi, a Florentine merchant), in the

merchant that we had as yet good peace with ffrance made aunswere that all this tyme of theyre abode in Scotlande they weare mere Scottes. And yet vppon comunicacion of these maters since, they woold needs bear us in hande they meane nothing elles but good peax and perfecte amytie. Youe shall vndrestande that fforasmuche as I have also certaine intelligence there is a great fleet of theyres who shortelye shall retourne out of the new founde lande with fishe, with whom wee wolde be glad to mete to requyte parte of these wronges (if it might be), I have thought good, by the consent and agreament of my L. protectour's grace and the counsell, to license as many as in that shyre are willing to gooe to the seas at theyre owne aventure to passe without impechement for thapprehension and taking, not oonely of the saide flete, but also of as many moo frenchemenne as they maye by any meanes laye hand vppon. And yet, neverthelesse, Bicause, heretofore, vppon the grauntinge of the lyke libertye, many complayntes of misdemeanours haue beene made to the Counsell, They have thought good to prescribe certaine orders seriouslye to be observed, whiche I receyved from themme, and whiche you shall receyve in A Schedule hercin enclosed, Requirynge you, in any wyse, the same maye be to thuttremost performed. And least it might seame straunge to youe Sir Thomas Dennys and Sir Richard Grenefelde, (Devonshire¹) to be combred with this affayre, yet, wayeing the weight of the mater, and remembring that the said L. protectour's grace and Counsell have thought you mete, for your approved secrecy and circumspeccion in seruice, to beare your parte of this

service of the King of France. He was gentleman of the French Privy Chamber and Captain of Marano, a town in Italy, 1542.

¹ Cornwall. Sir Hugh Trevanyon, Sir William Godolphin.

busines, I doubt not youe wooll willingly travayle therein in suche sorte as theyre trust, and my hartye desyre, is youe shoulde. And to thintent I may mak reporte of your paynes to be taken herin I shall desyre youe, Sr Petre Carowe, being myne Officer there, that, according to thinstruccons, I maye receyve all suche advertisementes as therein is conteyned, with such others as by your wisdome youe shall think convenient. Thus fare youe hartely well. ffrom my Castle of Sudelye the ixth of August 1548.

Your loving ffrende

THO. SEYMOUR.

(Instructions referred to.)

ffirst, that it be bruted, and openlye declared, that the shippes appointed to goo forthe be armed and sent to the seas oonely against the Scottes, pirates, and suche others, the Kinges Maiestics encmyes.

That the owners, and captaines, of everye suche shippe to be armed and sent forthe be bounde in a large and ample soome before youe, or twoo of youe, in the presence of the Mayor, and other Officer, where theyre saide shipps do remayne, to be of honest behavoir towards alle the Kinges Maiesties subiectes and ffrendes, and that they shall aunswer to all suche complaintes as by anye of his hieghnes saide subicctes, or ffrendes, shalbe made against themme, for any acte to be donne by the saide Captaines, or any others within theyre shipps, during the tyme of this theyre being forthe. And this ordre to be vsed with all suche shipps as fromehenseforthe shall goo to the seas at theyre owne adventures.

That there be a retorne boke kept of the names of cuery shippe that shall haue leaue to goo to the seas, of theyre bourdenne, and to what port they do belong; And that in the same boke be mencioned the names of the

owners, Captaines, and masters of enerye suche shippe, with the cotypes of thobligacions, or bondes, takenne for theyre good behavoure, as is aforsaide. A Coppye of which, assoon as the same shallbe made, I wolde weare sent vnto me, to thintent I maye therof aduertise my Lorde protectours grace, and the Counsell accordinglye.

That it be further declared, secretlye, to the saide Owners, Captaines, and Masters, that besyde Scottes, and pyrates, they may, also staye, not oonelye the frenche flecte cooming with the newe founde lande fishe, But also that they maye staye anye other frenche shipps they shall mete withalle, saying to themme that they haue bene spoyled before by frenchemenne, and could haue no iustice, or pretending that the victualles, or things of munition, found in anye suche frenche shipps, weare sent to ayde the Scottes, or such lyk. Marye, suche frenche shipps as they shall take they must cause to be brought to somme porte in England, and cause, before thofficers there, true Inventories to be made of alle the goodes founde within anye shippe so stayed, and of the iust valor of the same, whiche Inventories or Cotypes therof must remayne in the custodye of the saide Officers, as of persones indifferent.

Item. The saide Captaines owners, and Masters, must be further enformed that fforasmuche as we doo stande in verye doubtfull tearmes with ffrance, and yet there is no playne warre, That, therefore, thies Inventories be taken to thintent that if the peax do contynewe, and the french menne wooll redubb¹ suche wronges as they have donne to the Kinges Maicsties subjectes, That then, in that case, theyre goodes maye also be restored, or, at the least, the valor of them; and if the warres do ensue

¹ Redress.

that thenne alle the goodes shall remayne to the use of the takers, as in tyme of warre hathe beenne accustomed. And it is allso to be added that incase the peax shalle continewe, and all thinges so vsed as the frenchemens goodes shalbe ordred to be restored, Then shall ordre be gyven for the chardge and expense of the Takers of the saide shippes and goodes.

APPENDIX E.

No. 1.¹*Sir Peter Carew and Sir Gawen Carew to Sir Thomas Denys.*²

RIGH^t worshipfull, after our most hertie commendacions. Being this morning enformed that you prepare yourself with power to apprehend and take vs,³ ffor what matter we knowe not, we have thought good to send vnto you, and to advertise you that we ar as true and as faithfull subicctes vnto the Quenes highnes as any what so ever they be within the Realme, and entende to observe and folowe her Religion as faithfully as they that most are affected vnto it. Wherefore, knowing our selves without offence towardes her ma^{tie}, we can not but wonder for what cause you should prepare, with force, to take vs. And if it be so that you have any such commission from her highnes, or her most honorable counsell, we hertely pray you so to advertise vs, and we shall, without rumor or sterring, immediately repaire vnto you wheres so ever you shall appoint vs. Whereas if you do the contrary, you shall dryve vs to stand to the best of our powers for

¹ State Paper Office —Original.

² See Note, p. 49.

³ At a meeting of the Privy Council held at Richmond on the 2nd January, a letter of appearance was issued to Sir Peter Carew. As this summons appears to have been disregarded, on the 16th, a letter was directed by the Council to be sent to Sir Thomas Denys, sheriff of Devon, for the sending of him up, and requiring his wis-lom and diligence therein.—Privy Council Register.

our libertie vntill such tyme as we may better vnderstand
your authoritie. And so fare you most hertely well.
ffrom Mouse Awtrey, the xixth of January, 1554.¹

Yr loving freende,

P. CAREW.

GA. CAREW.

*To the right worshipfull and our verrye
loving frynde Sr Thomas Denys, Knight,
highe Sherif of the county of Devon.*

No. 2.

Sir Peter Carew to Sir Thomas Denys (Sheriff of Devon.)²

WHEREAS I promysed by your messenger to repayer
this daye to Exeter vnto you, and thinking you have some
cause to allege vnto me for that I have byn sent for to
the courte & have not made suche speede thyther as the
counsell hathe lookyd for, and to avoyde alle rumors that
may ensue for my supposed disobediens, I haue, sithen
the departure of your said messenger, thought good to
advertise you that I am this daye departed from hens
toward London, with as moche speade as I possiblye can,
not doubting but I shall be abull so to answer the cause
as myne honestye shalbe nothing impayred, whatsoever
myne enemyes shall allege agenst me; most hartelye
praying you so to vse your authoritye, whatsoever it be,
as you may receave no evyll opynyon at the Quenes
highnes handes, nether to use thextremyte thereof (so as
the same may be to my vtter defacing), whereof I have no
mistrust of you for that you know my demeans hath not
geaven the occasion hereof. And knowing this shall

¹ 1553—4.

² State Paper Office.—Original.

suffice to such an assured frynde as you are, I bid you ffarewell. from Mohouns Ottery, this tewsdaye the xxij of January, 1554.

Y^r assured ffrynde,
P. CAREW.

No. 3.

*Sir Gawen Carew to Sir Thomas Denys.*¹

MR. DENYS, after my hartly commendacions. I do not a lytell marvell to hier of suche preparacions as you prepare within the Citie of Excter, (being, as you are, a wise man) wherof it doth prosede I cannot gesse. Yt should seem by slanderous brutes you have sent and chayned the gates, layed Ordynaunce upon the walles, kepe watche and warde, as it should be beseged by the Quenes highnes enemyes, and not content with this, but also blowen abrode, not only to the vtter ondoying and clere defasyng of the most parte of gentlemen within this shire toward the Quenes highnes, but also to the discrediting vs among our neighbors, that the gentlemen shoulde practise to take the Quenes highnes Citie. Yt is more than strange to think what occasion shoulde leade you thus to do. I dare boldely say it was neuer thought by any man to practise so vyle an enterprise agenst the Quenes Matie, that wayes or any other kynde of wayes, whereby her highnes might be offended. I stand owt of all dowtes, from the best to the simplest, there is not one within this shire, but, in defence of her highnes Citie, or other affayres, lawes, statutes, proclamacions, or prosedinges, but wolde, with the sworde in his hand, defend the same with his bloode to the deth. And farther, yt is bruted that the

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—Original.

gentlemen shoulde gather them selves together, and levy a power to stand in the field. I marvell not a lytell to hyer of these Immagenyd lyes. I do assure you, by the faythe I beare to the lyvyng God, there was no such matter of gathering togither of any gentlemen, nor no repayre of any other, but only as heretofore yt hath bene accustomedly vsed. And for myne owne parte, I had no more with me than I do accustomedly vse to ryde withall, which was but viij persones, and Sir Peter Carew, his housholde servantes. But the very occasion of my repayre to S^r Peter was, that you had gathered a power (as it was shewed vs) to apprehend vs both, and what comission or auctoritie you had so to do we knew not, and vpon that consideracion wrote vnto you our former letter, for if you had sent, declaring that you had suche a comission from the Quenes highnesse, we wolde have comme to you as humble and obedient subjectes, according to our bounden duties. And so I pray you to make reporte none otherwise of vs, for I dowt not but the trouth shall trye vs to be as faythfull and obedient subjectes as any other within the realme, whatsoever they be. And so I byd you most hertely farewell. ffrom Tyverton, the xxiiij of January, 1553.¹

Your ffreende,

GA. CAREW.

No. 4.²

John Ridgeway³ to Sir Thomas Denys.

Hyt maye please your maistershippe to be advertysed

¹ 1553—4.

² State Paper Office, Dom. Cor.—Original.

³ John Ridgway (alias Pooock) received a grant of Torwood Grango, in 1540. In conjunction with John Petre, in 1553, he purchased of the Crown

that on Sundaye laste, in the mornyng, S^r Arthur Champernown sent one of his servantes to me, desyring me, from his M^r, that I wold com & speke with his M^r with all spede. And because I vnderstode that he came from Monysotery, & not knowyng for what cause he sent for me, I wrot hem a letter, & desyred to spare my comyng vnto him at that tyme. When, vppon the Mondaye next, yn the mornyng, he sent vnto me ayen, & also the Maior of Totnesse, that he was desyrous that wee shuld either com & speke with hem, or els he wuld com to vs at Totnesse; and, by the said messenger, we vnderstode also that S^r Arthur Champernown had bene at Monysotry with S^r Peter Carewe, who had sent for hem, and that they could not there agre together vppon such interprices as ennie of them went aboute, the which was, as I vnderstode, consernyng the resystyng of the prynce of Spayne, whereunto the sayed S^r Arthur wold not agre, but sent abrode dyvers parishes that they shuld imbrace the comyng yn of the prynce of Spayne, forasmuche as hyt is nowe certenly knowne that the quenes pleasure is to have hem com yn. And, albehyt, I vnderstoode this myoche by the Messenger, yet I sent a seruant of myne about Modbur,¹ to knowe & serche what S^r Arthur Champernown went aboute consernyng this mater, by whom I hade certen knolege that hit was true that the messenger had declared vnto me. Where vppon histerdaye, in the mornyng, the Maior of Totnesse & I, with

the manor of Tor Mohun. He resided at Torwood, and dying 155—, was buried in Tor Mohun church, where a monument to his memory still exists. His grandson, in 1612, was created a Baronet,—in 1616, Baron Ridgway of Galen Ridgway, co. Londonderry, and in 1522 was further advanced to the Earldom of Londonderry, which title became extinct upon the death of the fourth earl in 1713.

¹ Modbury, the seat of Sir Arthur Champernown.

others, merchautes of Totnesse, rode vnto Sir Arthur Champernoun, who declared vnto vs that Sr Peter Carewe hade sent for hem to com to Monysotery, & when they mett the mater was consernyng the resystyng of the comynge yn of the prince of Spayne. And that the sayed Sr Arthur wuld not agre to resyst hem, and told vs that for asmyoche as nowe he knewe the quenes pleasure was to haue the prynce of Spayne in toEnglond, that he wuld imbrace the same, & shew hem self obedyent to his pore vnto the quenes pleasure therin, & prayed vs that we wuld not mystrust hem herein. And for that he knew vs to be those persons that wuld fferder as myche as yn vs lyeth the quenes pleasure in this behalf, that wee wuld joyn with hem, & he with vs, to withstonde all them that went aboute to the contrary to the vttermost of our pores. And, as wee thincke, verely he spake as he ment, and will ernystly do the same, and of this I thought hyt not only good to advertyce your maistershippe, but also to advertyce you of the state of the countre aboute Totnesse, & aboute the parties where I dwell, & that the people be yn good quyett, & well contented with the comyng of the prynce of Spayne, (except be a fewc persons) and do mych malygne ayenst suche gentlemen as wuld the contrary. Also I thought good to declare vnto you that the Towne of Totnesse is well furnished with harnesse, weapons, & other monyssyons for warres. They haue at least too hundred mens harnesse, & they be very trustie subiectes to the quene, and they, of them selffes, & of their ffrends & acquentaunce, theraboute, be able to make a gret number of men to serve the quene. Wherfore, if your maistership vnderstonde that any gentilmen goo aboute to levy any pore otherwyse then apparteyneth to the dute of there alle-

gaunce, (as pety hyt were they shuld) that your pleasure maye be knowen yn such sorte as you seyme most meyt what is to be don to resist them, so that you maybe sure of a good pore & strength to do the same. And so I ende, and praye our good lord god to send vs quyetnesse amongst our selffa, and your maistership long lyff, with mych wurship. At Torre, the xxiiijth of January, 1553.

Your Maistershippes to commaunde,

JOHN RIDGEWAY.

No. 5.

*Articles consernynge the causes of shuttynge & stoppynge the gates, and watche and warde donne in the Cyte of Exceter.*¹

FFYRSTE, ther was a common brute spredd thoroughoute the whole Cyte, aswell by straungers as by the Inhabytauntes of the Cyttey of Exeter, the wyke next after Cristmas Sessyons last past, that certen gentlemen of Devonshere wold enter ynto the said Cytie, and take the same ynto theyre handes, and wold also order and rule ytt att their plesure, and put vs the Cytizens from the governaunce thereof.

Item. There was a like brute sprede yn the same Cytie, att the same tyme, that certen of the saide gentlemen had caused manye privy cottes for the warr to be made yn dyvers secrete places within the seid Cytie, which caused vs of the Cytie to stand in miche dowbte what they yntendyd thereby, forasmyche as we dyd knowe the quenes heighnes to have no warre yn anye place.

Item. Yn the same wyke, the xvijth of Januarye last, one More, of Clist, seruante vnto Sir Peter Carew, Knyght,

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—No. 14.

and a man of Apsam¹ with hym, brought ynto the westegate of the said Cytie syxe horses laden with harnes and handegunnes, close packed, which the same & his felloe, brought from the Castell of Dartmouthe, and caryed the same throughe the Cytie, as twoo men of the said Cytie, named Jamez Glovyar and John Baron, do testyfy, whiche handled the same harnes.

Item. The xixth of Januarye last, James Poore, servante to Sir Gawen Carewe, Knyght, aboute x or xj of the clock yn the nyght, came to the porter att the southe gate of the said Cytie, after that the Queenes Offycers had made a prevye sertche yn that parte of the cytie the same nyght, and offred the said porter ij^s yn money to lett hym owte att the same gate : ffor, he saide that there was a shyppe that taryed for hym, and that he must neddes passe over the sea yn the same shippe ; which was but fayned by hym, for the said Jamez was here, yn Exeter, the xxij of Januarye then next followynge.

Item. The xxiith of Januarye last, a laky of Sir Gawen Carew's, yn the nyght of the same daye, declared vnto a man of our Cytie, ridyng betwene Honytonsclyste & Rockbear, that on ffrydaye ngyht last past, after shuttynge of the cytie gattes, hys master, Sir Gawen Carew, went out over the walles of the said Cytie yn his bowtes, and from thens vnto John Christophers house at Stoke, and for that his bowtes grevyd hym he cutt them vpon the waye, and then the seid Sir Gawen rode from the seid Cristofers vnto Mr. Gybbes ys house, and so from thens vnto Mounes Oterye, and this lakey sayde he followed hym all the waye.

Item. The same lakey saidd then, also, that there ys like to be a besye worlde, for the saide my master hath sent me now to my ladye, my mastres, with letters that she

¹ Topsham, 3 miles from Exeter.

must make spede to make redy hys harnes att Exceter, and that she shold cause hytt to be caryed out of the Cytte ynto the Subberbes, there, yn hand baskettes, by parcells, and farther, he sayed, bycause no man shuld fynde the letter which I caryed, my Master caused the sawle of my shooe to be ripped, and there putt yn the letter, and he delyuered me another letter also, whiche was putt yn thc lappe of my Coote, which bare no chardge.

Item. The xxth of Januarye last, aboute mydnyght, a lakey of Sir Pcter Carewes came ffrom Sir Thomas Deneys with a letter to his master ynto the Westgate of the said Cytte, and the same Lakey declared to the Porter of the same gate, and to one other man, that my lorde of Devonshire¹ came ynto Monesoterye this present wike, yn a nyght, aboute the mydnyght, wythe twoo seruantes with hym.

Item. The xxijth daye of Januarye last, at nyght, a man of the contrey named John Smythe, about xj of the clok the same nyght, att Stretwoodhedd, and at the

¹ Edward Courteney, 12th Earl of Devon, only son of Henry Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter, by Gertrude, daughter of William Blunt, Lord Mountjoy. Earl Henry was the son of Sir William Courteney, Knt., by the Princess Katherine of York, seventh daughter of King Edward IV. He was attainted and executed, 1539, and the young Edward committed to the Tower, where he remained until the accession of Queen Mary, who, in the first year of her reign, set him, and other prisoners, at liberty, and restored him to the dignity of Earl of Devon. It is said the queen designed to marry him, but he shewed a preference for her sister Elizabeth. He was accused by Bishop Gardiner of being concerned in this conspiracy, and was, as well as the Princess Elizabeth, committed to the Tower. He was soon after liberated, and from his royal descent, was proposed by the council as a fit husband for the queen. When Her Majesty's marriage with Philip of Spain was determined on, he obtained leave to travel, and died at Padua, on the 18th September, 1556. *s. p.* On his death the ancient earldom of Devon became extinct in the Courteney family, until revived in 1831, in the person of William Viscount Courteney, the lineal descendant of Sir William Courteney, of Powderham, mentioned note 1, page 35.

the corporation a short time before 1520. He served the office of mayor in 1530, 1536, 1548, and 1550. At the close of his mayoralty of 1548, upon the attack of the rebels upon the city, he behaved with great firmness, and called upon his brethren to support him, which they did, although a large number of them were papists. He is styled "Lyuetinent" in 1560. Died 1562.

On the 20th May, 1549, John Blackaller, John Mydwynter, and four others, became purchasers of the fee of St. Nicholas Abbey, in Exeter, which they afterwards transferred to the corporation.

² William Hurst, only son of Robert Hurst, of Modbury, Co. Devon, by Joan, daughter and heir of William Rivel, of Stonyford. He was a member of the corporation of Exeter in 1512, and was five times mayor of that city: viz., 1524, 1535, 1545, 1551, and 1561. He married Julian, daughter of John Bere, of Huntsham and Bagtor, and dying in 1568, aged 96, left issue two sons called William and John, the latter had become a member of the corporation in 1547. William Hurst and his immediate descendants acquired considerable estates in the county of Devon, which, upon the failure of heirs male, passed to the families of Bodley and Martyn. A portrait of William Hurst is preserved in the council chamber of Exeter.

⁴ John Mydwynter was a Spanish merchant, and was born in Ottery St. Mary. His father was a dyer. He became a member of the corporation about 1526, was appointed receiver in 1540, and served the office of mayor in the years 1547, and 1555. He built the little conduit in Southgate Street, and amended and enlarged the footpath in Nothernhay. He was a supporter of the reformed religion, but has left the character of having been a harsh, overbearing, proud, and malicious man. He died, 1578.

⁵ Walter Staplehill, was a member of an old and respectable family in the Co. of Devon, which held property of the same name in the parish of Ashton, and they resided for some generations in that parish, at a place called Bramble. Walter Staplehill became a member of the corporation of Exeter in 1552, filled the office of Receiver in 1553, and Mayor in 1556. In the following year he was elected to represent the city in Parliament. He married Amy daughter of . . . Gale, of Crediton, and widow of Thomas Spurway, of Exeter, and dying in 1562, left a general good character, both as regards his public and private life. He was a zealous supporter of the Reformed religion.

⁶ John Peter resided at Bowlay, (Bowhay?) near Exeter, and represented that city in Parliament at this time. He married his cousin Wilmot, daughter of John Peter, Esq., of Tor Newton, and sister of Sir William Petre, Secretary of State, (see note 2, p. 181) and died in 1579, leaving numerous issue. John Peter, his eldest son, was M.P. for Dartmouth in the same parliament in which his father represented Exeter.

No. 6.¹

The declaracion of John Prediaux,² of Upton Pyne, for and concernyng suche rumours, actes, and thinges, as he knoweth to be latelie bruted & don within the Quenes highnes Countie of Devon.

first. Apon Mondaye night next before the csspeciall gaole delyuerie, holden within the Castell of Exeter, before the feaste of the natyuytie of our Lord Godde last past, before S^r Thomas Dennys, Knight, Sir Roger Bluett,³

The family of Peter has been long seated in Devonshire and Cornwall ; and is now represented by William Peter, Esq., of Harlyn, in the latter county, (acquired by the marriage of Thomas Peter with the heiress of Mitchell) now Her Majesty's Consul for the State of Penvylvania, in North America.

⁷ John Dyer was a member of the corporation of Exeter before this time, and served the office of Sheriff in 1561. Under date of the 27th September, 1563, it is recorded, "For as much as John Dyer, a member of this house, is gone out of the house and this company, refusinge to be a brother of the same, therefore, partly at the suite of the said John Dyer, and partly for other consideracions, they have dismissed the said John Dyer, and have assessed him in a fine of five marks for his said departure."

¹ State Paper Office, Dom. Cor.—Original.

² John Prideaux, Sergeant-at-Law, resided originally at Nutwell, near Lymptone ; married Mary, daughter of Lewis Stukely, of Uffeton, Esq., and relict of Tristram Lardner, of Pynes, Esq., in whose right it is supposed he acquired possession of the latter place.

³ Sir Roger Bluet, of Holcombe, descended from the Bluets, lords of Raglan. John Bluet acquired Holcombe Rogus in the 15th century, by marriage with a co-heiress of Chiselden. His ancestors had married heiresses or co-heiresses of Raglan, Greenham, and Beaupeny. Richard Bluet, great-grandson of this John, had two sons, Sir Roger, his heir, died, 1566. Arthur, great-grandson of Sir Roger, married an heiress of Lancaster. The elder branch of the direct line became extinct in 1636, by the death of his son, John Bluet, Esq., whose daughters and co-heirs married Jones, Wallop, Lenthall, and Bassett. John, the son of Francis (a younger son of Arthur), who was killed at the siege of Lyme in 1644, dying *s. p.* in 1700, the elder line was supposed to be extinct, and he bequeathed his estates to

Knight, Sir John Chechester, Knight,¹ Sir Richard Chydley, Knight,² & the said John Prediaux, there was secret intellygence geuen to M^r. Dennys & to me by one Wichehalls, M^r. Dennys seruauant, dwelling at Chidley, in Devon, that one Thomas Hawse of Exeter was sent to S^r Thomas Pomerie, Knight,³ being a symple gente, (but by whom Wichehals could not tell), to know whether the

Robert Bluet, Esqr., then representative of the Bluets of Colan, in Cornwall, descended from the younger brother of Sir Roger.

¹ Sir John Chichester of Raleigh, descended from one of the most eminent families in the county of Devon. In 1433 his ancestor, Sir John de Cirencester, was returned by the king's commissioners amongst the principal gentry in the county. The knight referred to in the text, was son of Edward Chichester, Esq., by Elizabeth, daughter of John Bouchier, Lord Fitzwarine and Earl of Bath. He was sheriff of the county in 1552, and again in 1578, and represented it in the Parliaments of 1553, and 1562. He married Gertrude, daughter of Sir William Courteney, of Powderham Castle (see note 1, p. 35), by whom he left a numerous issue. His eldest son, Sir John, succeeded him. The 2nd, Arthur, became Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1603, and was raised to the peerage of that kingdom by the title of Baron Belfast, in 1612, and dying without issue, in 1624, his estates passed by Will, to his next brother, Edward, who was created Baron Belfast and Viscount Chichester, and founded the noble house of Donegal. His direct lineal representative is Sir Arthur Chichester, of Raleigh, and from him are also descended Sir Arthur Chichester, of Green Castle, in the county of Donegal, and Sir John Palmer Bruce Chichester, of Arlington in the county of Devon.

² Sir Richard Chidley, of Ashton, son of William Chidley of the same place, by Joan, daughter of Sir William Hodge. Sir Richard married Mary, one of the eleven daughters of Sir Lewis Pollard of King's Nimpton (see note 3, p. 162). He was sheriff of Devon in 1552.

³ Sir Thomas Pomeroy, son of Sir Edward Pomeroy, of Berry Pomeroy, co. Devon, by Jane, daughter of Sir John Sapcote, Knt. He was one of the leaders in the rebellion of 1549. He managed to save his life, probably because he was of weak intellect, but suffered so severely in his estate as to prove the ruin of his family, which had been before this time esteemed one of the first in the county of Devon, both for antiquity and opulence. He married Jane, daughter of Sir Piers Edgcomb, of Cothele Co. Cornwall, and left issue, Thomas.

said M^r. Pomerie wold assent to the Landing of the Kinge of Spayne in Deuon or not, with this manner of demand, or with the like matter of substans (*sic*) in effect he was apposed, who aunswered that he wold not meddell in that matter; apon which intelligens so geuyn to M^r. Dennys and me, we determynd, the next daye to speke with S^r John Chechester, and to charge hym, apon his dutie of alleigaunce to the Quenes maiestie, to declare if he, or anye other whiche he knewe, had determynd to make anye resistens ayenst the Kinge of Spayne if he shuld land in that Countrie; or if he knewe of anye broile that was intendyd in that Countrie for anye manner of purpose; and the cause why he was demanded the question, & none other, was, bycause he was a man of more truste then anye other that was suspected, as the said S^r Thomas Dennys & I thought, and had grettest possessions within the shire, which by common prutens shuld refrayne any man to do anye wicked dede. And the said S^r John Chech^{er}ester aunswered that he ment not, nor knewe not of anye Rebellyon pretendyd, ne of anye man that wold withstand the landinge of the Kinge of Spayne, if the Quenes Ma^{tie} pleasure were that the Kinge of Spayne shuld land there, and, therefore, at that tyme, there was no more don.

In the crismas, viz., S^t. Stephyns daye, or S^t. Johns daye, erlie in the mornyng, came xij or there aboutes of my neighbours of Silverton, being the parishe where in M^r. Gybbes dwellithe, & they compleyned to me of a crosse of latten, and of an aulter clothe, stolen oute of the churche before that tyme, & that the crosse was set up apon a gate, or a hedge, by the waye,¹ where the pycure of

¹ On the top of a hill, about two miles from Silverton, is a place called "Cris-Cross" (Christ's-Cross.) Can this name have been derived from the outrage mentioned in the text?

Xpe was dressed with a paste, or suche like tyre, & the pictures of our ladie & St. John tyed by thredes, or suche like thinges, to the arme of the crosse, like theves, whereat I marvailed, asking of them whether they suspected anye man, and they said they could not certaynlye suspecte no man, but they juged verie ill of one Helmor, within the parishe; wherecapon I willed some of them to repaire to Mr. Dennys and shewe hym of yt, & some to repaire home to learne as myche as they could ayenst the frydaye folowing, & then to mete me at Exeter, at which tyme they repaired vnto me, and shewed me that Mr. Dennys plesure was that I shuld examyn the matter hoolie, as though he were presente, & then, in asking of questyons of them, one henryc horton, who before tyme was hurte by Mr. Gybbes seruaunte, said that I & my neighbours dare not to serche oute this matter for feare of Mr. Gybbes, & I, for my parte, dare not for feare of more hurte; and then I willed them that they shuld learne privylye asmyche as they could, & to aduertise me thereof, secretley, & then I wold, with the aduyse of Mr. Dennys, seke remedye for them; & sithen that tyme I herd no more of them, but most trewe yt is that the Crosse was so abused, & I, with vile wordes for that cause reproued by the said Mr. Gibbes, as I will dewlie proue.

In the crismas tyme, and after, vntill the tewesdaye after the fest of the Epiphanye of our lord godde, there grewe dyuers Rumours that the Kinge of Spayne shuld land in Deuon with a grete navye and a grete puyssauns, and Sr Thomas Dennys and I came to Exeter, the mondaye before the Sessyons, & then, by appoyntment of Mr. Dennys, dyd suppe with Master Holwell¹ one of the Chan-

¹ John Holwell was a Canon of the Cathedral of Exeter in 1550. He

nons of Exeter, where dyd suppe also M^r. Doctor Moreman,¹ M^r. Southern,² Treasurer of the Cathedrall Church, M^r. Gregorie, & M^r. Smarte, & at the myddes of Supper, came yn one of the vycars, & so passed the tyme at Supper, & after supper endyd there was declaracion made to S^r Thomas Dennys, in the presens of M^r. Moreman, M^r. Southern, M^r. Holwill, & of me, John Prediaux, that S^r Gawen Carewe shuld cause harnes to be made in the Crismas tyme, yn the Deans house there, & that it was to be feared, that yt was rather to prepare yt ayenst a tumulte rather then otherwise; at which tyme M^r. Dennys saied, I herd so myche spoken this daye where I dynd by the Mayres deputie & the old M^r. Hurste;³ whereapon yt was agreed that every man then presente: viz.

was an inveterate Papist, and a great opposer of Symon Haynes, who died 1550. See note 1, p. 111.

¹ Dr. John Moreman was born in the parish of Hartland, in the extreme north of Devon. He entered at Exeter College, Oxford, 1504; B.A., 1508; M.A., 1508; D.D., 1529. He was a very learned divine, and, having been instituted to the vicarage of Menheniot, in Cornwall, is said to have been the first who taught his parishioners the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in the English tongue, in which he duly catechised them. Notwithstanding this, he still adhered to the old religion, and was consequently imprisoned during the whole of the reign of King Edward VI. On the accession of Mary he was set at liberty, and soon afterwards became Dean of Exeter. In Convocation, held at Westminster, on October 10th, 1553, a disputation took place by the Queen's commandment, when Dr. Moreman was selected by the Prolocutor (Dr. Weston) to answer the objections and arguments against the doctrine of Transubstantiation proposed by Mr. Cheney, Archdeacon of Hereford. Dr. Moreman died at Menheniot in October, 1554. Dr. Moreman, whilst at Menheniot, was an instructor of youth, and John Hooker (who has given an account of him in his Syn. Devon) received his education from him.

² Thomas Southern, Treasurer of Exeter Cathedral, was collated 8th of May, 1531, and died, 1557.

³ William Hurst, at this time eighty-one years of age. His son, John Hurst, was also a member of the Corporation. See note 3, p. 154.

Mr. Dennys, Mr. Moreman, Mr. Southern, Mr. Holwyll, & I John Prediaux, shuld learne by suche secret wayes & meanes as we could, as well whether anye suche harnyes were made by the said Sr. Gawen, as also for what intent that they were made in the crismas rather then at a nother tyme, and also we agreed that forasmuche as the Mayor of Exeter¹ & his bretherne, were of seuerall Religions that Mr. Blackaller, the Mayors Deputie, & Mr. Hurste, being knowen to be of a good catheholike faythe, shuld haue good respect to the keping af the said Cytie. And yt was further then spoken that Sr. Peter Carewe, Sr. Gawen Carewe, and Sr. Giles Strangeways,² of Dorsetshire, wolde lye in Exeter, for the which the matter was the more suspected, and so euerie man, for that night, departed to his lodging. On the tewesdaye, being the daye of the sessyons, Sr. Peter Carewe, Sr. Gawen Carewe, Sr. John Chichester, Sr. Arthure Champernoun, shewed Sr Thomas Denuys & me that there was a grete rumore, in all parties of the shire of the Countie of Deuon, that if the Kinge of Spayne shuld lande there that it shuld be a great distraccon to the Countree. Wheareapon the said Sr Thomas Dennys aunswered, that if the Quenes

¹ William Smith was mayor this year. He was by occupation a goldsmith, and is described in the city records as "a most inveterate papist, and an enemye to ail such as were known or suspected to be true professors of the gosple. As was his religion, so were his companions, for dayly he would be yn company with the Treasurer Southren at bowlinge, and with Blaxton and freer Gregorye."

² Sir Giles Strangeways, of Melbury, Co. Dorset, son of Henry Strangeways (who was killed at the siege of Boulogne during the life of his father, Sir Giles Strangeways the elder), by Margaret, daughter of George Manners, Lord Roos. He married Joan, daughter of John Wadham, of Merifield, sister and co-heir of Nicholas Wadham, by whom he acquired a considerable estate in addition to his ancestral possessions. He died 1562.

Maiesties plesure were that if the Kinge of Spayne and his power shulde lande there yt were no subiectes parte to let yt ne defend¹ yt, but to be therewith contentyd, lyke a subiect; then the said S^r Peter Carewe sayed, yet let vs advertise the Quenes highnes of this Rumor, and we can no less do, considering that wee are put in truste here in this Countree for the keping of the Quenes highnes peas. Whereapon M^r Dennys and I dyd penne a letter which nothing lyked them, but they said they wolde penne a letter, which letter, when M^r Dennys & I dyd see, wee vtterlie denyed yt, and thereapon I desired M^r Ridgeway to be sent for, who agreed with the opynyon of M^r Dennys & me, & thereapon M^r Ridgewaye was desyred to penne the letter to the Quenes highnes that wensdaye night, that the next daye the Justices of the peas then presente in the citie shuld consulte thereapon at the Chapytre house, at which daye, after dynner, they mette at the Chapytre house, where, also, aboute iij of the clocke I came, & subscribed my name to the letter, then ment to be sent to the Quenes Ma^{tie}; but what manner of consultacion they vsed in the Chapitre house, or what manner of speche they then vsed to the people, or for what cause there were any more people there then Justices of peas, I knowe not; for my Lorde Bisshop of Exeter,² with whom I dyned that daye, requyred me to tarie withe hym, and to

¹ Resist.

² John Voysey, alias Harman, was installed Dean of Windsor, 1515, and in 1519, by Papal Provision, Bull dated 31st August, appointed Biahop of Exeter, which office he resigned 1551. Upon the deposition of Miles Coverdale, he was again installed 28th September, 1553, and died 23rd October, 1554, at a great age, at More Place, in Co. Warwick, and was there buried. He was Chaplain and Dean of the Chapel to King Henry VIII, and had been employed by him in many honourable employments abroad in embassies. He was also governor to the Princess Mary, when she was the King's only daughter, and styled Princess of Wales. Strype speaks very slightly of him, and says he was seldom resident in his diocese, and

shewe hym myne aduyse in a matter that fell upon the presentacon of dyuers persons to the vicaraige of Northeham, in Deuon, then being voyde, whereof the Quenes Ma^{tie} presented one, the Dean of Wynsor¹ another, & an Estraunger the thirde person; aboute which matter I taryed with my Lorde Bisshop an hour & more, & after I was busied with other of my owne affayres; namelie, with one Manlie for an interest of a comon in halberton, which, before this tyme, was put to the indifferent hyringe of S^r John Seyntleger, Knight, & S^r Roger Bluet, and also with Norcot of Kyrto,² for & consernyng his assurances for land that he bought of S^r Hugh Pollard, Knight.³

Mem. that apou the wensdaye night knowlege came from London to Exeter that the Kinge of Spayne shold land at Portesmouth, & that the right honorables my Lordes

attributes his absence as one of the chief causes of insurrection in 1549. Dr. Moreman acted as his coadjutor upon his restoration to the see in 1553. —Strype, Mem., vol. ii., p. 423.

¹ The Dean of Windsor, at this time, was Owen Olgethorp, who, from a canonry, was installed Dean in 1553, and in 1556 was made Bishop of Carlisle, of which he was deprived in 1559, and died not long afterwards. He was the first Dean of Windsor, who enjoyed the office of Registrar of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, which before that time had always been held by one of the Canons.

² The ancestors of Sir Stafford Northcote formerly resided at Hayne, in the parish of Crediton, often called Kirton.

³ Sir Hugh Pollard, of King's Nimpton, near Chumleigh, Co. Devon, eldest son of Sir Lewis Pollard, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas in the reign of Henry VIII, by Agnes, daughter of Thomas Hext, of Kingston, near Totnes, by whom he had eleven sons and eleven daughters. Several of the sons of Sir Lewis Pollard attained the honour of knighthood, viz., Sir Hugh, Sir John, Sir Richard, and Sir George. The latter won his spurs by his stout defence of Boulogne. Sir Hugh Pollard married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Vawtort, of Lawrence Clist, and had issue Lewis, an eminent lawyer. The family continued at King's Nimpton for five generations. There were three Knights and two Baronets in a direct line, the last of whom, Sir Hugh, greatly distinguished himself in support of the King in the Civil Wars, and was, at the restoration, appointed to the office of Comptroller of the King's Household.

of Bedford¹, my Lord Paget,² & my Lord of London,³ were appoynted by the Quenes Ma^{tie} to be her graces ambassadors to the Kinge of Spayne, & that they, with all spede, wolde take shipping at Portesmouthe, where-apon yt was agreed that the said letter, so ment to be sent to the Quenes ma^{tie}, shuld not go fourthe, which lettre remayneth in M^r Chechesters handes. And then yt was agreed to aduertise the Quenes most honorable priuye Councell of these doyenges, and of the brutes that came in the Countrie, whereunto my hand is, & I dyd first drawe yt, but yt was after amendyd in dyuers places, with the consentes of all them whos names are subscriybed in the letter. Also, apon wednesdaye laste, being the xvith daye of Januarie, I came from my house to Exeter, & there dyned with the said M^r Doctor Moreman, & after dynner departed, promysyng hym and Blaxstone, Subdean of Exeter, then present, that suche newes as I herd I wolde aduertise them of from tyme to tyme, & so departed that night to honyton, where Thomas Prediaux declared to Copleston, my seruante, that the said last wensdaye at dyner tyme, my Lorde of Deuon was come, with one seruante, to Mounsoterye, S^r Peter Carewes house, & was brought by S^r Peter Carewe into his lodge, &

¹ John Lord Russell, created Earl of Bedford, 1550. See note 1, p. 26.

² See note 1, p. 63.

³ Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, was an able and learned, but violent and cruel man. He was in great favour with Henry VIII, during whose reign he held several ecclesiastical preferments, and by whom he was employed, on many occasions, in important state affairs. In 1532, and again in 1533, he was sent as ambassador to the Pope, relative to the King's divorce from Katharine of Arragon. He was also sent ambassador to the Kings of Denmark and France, and to the Emperor Charles V, at which latter court he was at the time of the King's death. In 1539 he was elected Bishop of Hereford, but before consecration was translated to London. He was very zealous on the part of the King, in his quarrel with the Pope,

conveyed thither mete vnto hym. And, fourthewith, my seruante shewed me of yt, & then I sent my seruante for the said Thomas Prediaux, who came to me, & declared asmyche as he before dyd saye to my seruante; whereapon I, douting this sodayn rumor, wrote my letter, incontynentlie, to the said M^r. Blaxtone, declaring what I had herd, & by whom, & thereapon I desired hym, in anye wise, to partycypate that my newes, with all spede, with M^r. Moreman & M^r. Southern, & to send to M^r. Dennys that he shuld, with spede, repaire to the Citie of Exeter, & send for S^r Richard Edgecomb, Knight,¹ & for his owne Sonne in lawes,² & to come with all his power to the Citie & to garde yt sauelye whatsoever should happen.

per me JOHN PREDIAUX.

No. 7.

Sir Thomas Dennys to the Lords of the Council.³

May it please your right honorable Lordshippys to wete,⁴ that appon the receipt of the quenys ma^{ties} letters for the apprehencion of Sir Peter Carewe, Knight, con-

but seems never to have been sincere in promoting the Reformation. On the accession of Edward VI he scrupled to take the oath of supremacy, and having during the whole of that reign offered a passive resistance to the changes in religion, in October, 1549, he was deprived of his Bishopric. Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, viz., September, 1553, he was restored. In 1559 he was a second time deprived, and afterwards lived in confinement until his death, which happened on the 5th September, 1569. He was buried in St. George's Church, Southwark.

¹ Sir Richard Edgecombe, eldest son of Sir Piers Edgecombe, of Cotebele, in Cornwall, by Jane, daughter and heir of Stephen Durnford, of East Stonehouse. Sir Richard was Sheriff of Devon, 1544, and again in 1553. He served the same office for Cornwall. He built the family mansion at East Stonehouse, called from him Mount Edgecombe, which is still the chief residence of his descendant the Earl of Mount Edgecombe.

² Sir Thomas Deny's sons in law were Sir John Fulford, of Fulford, Knight, and George Kirkham, of Blackdon, Esq.

³ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—No. 16.

⁴ Know.

sideryng his housse stronge for spere & shelde, thoff y shuld assaute the same with power of the quenys subiectes, who haue nother hanyes ne wepons sythens the last comosson, euery man then beyng commended by my lord liefftenute to bryng all their harnys & wepons into the Citie of Exceter, where they do yet remayne. Mr. Seriaunt & I thoughte without Batry peces, which we do lacke, shuld nott avall to geue assaute. And thoff we hadde such ordynans the erthe is so depe & wete whereby they koude nott be conueyed. Wherefore, for asmuche as I hadde a letter from Sir Peter the day next before the receipt of the quenys letters, wherby may apper vnto your lordshippes by the same his letters, hauyng knowlege that y hadde commondement to attache hym, he wold come to me at all tymes, theruppon I signyfyed vnto hym the quenys pleasur & commondement, commondyng hym, in her graces name, to be with me at Exceter the day folyng att teen of the clock before noune, who came nott accordyng, butt hath wryten vnto me that he is departed towards the cort with all spede. Other newys therebe which y referr to the reporte of Mr. Seriaunt & the byll of articles directed to your lordshippes from the mayor, leiffテナunt of Exceter. Written the xxvth Januarij.

Your lordshippes to commonde

THOMAS DENYS.

No. 8.

*Sir John St. Leger to the Lords of the Council.*¹

Pleasithe it your honerable Lordshipes to be advertysed That for lacke good post horses, and by reason of the depenis of the wayes, I came to Sherborne on Saterdag at nyght, from whence, be cause I woolde prevely, and assuredly, vnderstande, aswell Thestate of my cuntry,

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—No. 26.

also of S^r Petur Carewes howse, (beyng nere vnto the stright way towards Exetter) sent one of my men by Charde and honyngton to Exetter, and so departede to my howse¹ by another parte of the Shere, where I was by Sunday by none, and forthwith sent for Sir Roger Bluet, (my neigh neighbour) whome I founde the Quenes heighnes assurede, and one William Courtney her heighnes seruaunte and trustye Subicte, with dyvers other of my honest and secreat neighbours, and brake with them of the state of the countrey. The which, even according to their reporte, I founde in veray good quyetnes, and dewe obedyence to the quenes heighnes and her graces affayres, wherevpon my furder consulting with them I hade perfecte notice that William Gybbes was then newlye come to Sir John Mores,² being dystante fyve myles from my howse, and S^r Gawen Carew to be at one John Carewes of Byckley,³ nephewe to the same S^r Gawen. Wherefore I caused S^r Roger Bluet to wryte his letter concerning other secreate affayres between the said John Carewe and hym, that he forthwith, vppon the sight of his

¹ Annery.

² Sir John More, of Morelays, in the parish of Columpton, son of Humphrey More, of that place, by one of the eleven daughters of Sir Lewis Pollard, the Judge (see note 3, p. 162). Sir John More married Katharine, daughter of Sir Thomas Pomeroy, and had issue Humphrey, who married Mary, daughter of Richard Bamfylde, of Poltinore, Esq., and had issue John and others. This Humphrey wasted the estate, and brought the house to a low condition.

³ Son of Thomas Carew, founder of the family, at Bickley, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Humphrey Courteney, of that place, the youngest son of Sir Philip Courteney, of Powderham. Mr. Carew died *s.p.*, when the estate devolved upon his half brother Humphrey, whose grandson, Sir Henry Carew, by one of the daughters of Sir Reginald Mohun, of Cornwall, Knight, left two daughters co-heirs, the eldest of whom married Sir Thomas Carew, of Haccombe, Bart., thus uniting the families of Haccombe and Bickley.

letters, shulde repayre vnto S^r Roger Bluettes howse¹ the same night or the next mornyng verry tymely, who vppon receipt of the said letters, came the next mornyng accordyngly. In talking with hym I burdened hym to be anenymye vnto the quenes heighnes, for that he Receaved and kept S^r Gawen Carewe into his howse, (being well knowne to be anenymye vnto the quenes heighnes) who, for declaracion of his trewth and Loyaltye, declared that he came vnto hym vnloked for, and as a man, vnto his knowledge, whiche had not offended. And, for furder declaracion of his owne trewth, offered (yf the case so requyred) to delyver his said vncke into my handes. Wherevppon S^r Roger Bluet and I, taking with vs of our seruantes and said neighbours the number of xxxth persons (kyping the same John Carewe with vs) Rode stright vnto S^r John Mores howse, where I founde William Gybbes, who, as sone as he sawe me manyfesting vnto hym the quenes heighnes pleasor he very gentilly and peacebley, with out resystaunce, yelded hymself; Declaring vnto me that notwithstanding he knewe his Innocencye, yet, neuertheles, (it) became hym to shewe hymself a subiecte, and wolde do to his dyeing day. And the said S^r John More, beyng then in his owne howse, verry quyet, offered his assystaunce, with harte and will, for the save condicion of the said William Gybbes, and ferder to serve the quenes heighnes at all commandementes, and so I toke the said William Gybbes with me and rode to Byckelye, where S^r Gawen Carewe laye, who, of lyke, having intelligence of my commyng mett me, with all humylitie, without the gate, and submytted hymself, with lyke submyssion as the said William Gybbes

¹ Holcombe.

hade before don; and so from thense brought them to Exetter, where I haue them in save kypyng. ffynding the rest of the gentilmen, as fur as hitherto I haue gone, in dewe obbedyence, with all the rest of the [*M.S. torn*] redye to serve the quenes heighnes at her comaundement agaynst all her enymyes, and vppon sending for S^r Hugh Stucley, prepared a hundred men yf nede had or shall requyre, to serve the quene, who mouche Lamentes that the subscricion of his name to the letter shulde cause your honors to stande indowte of his faythfulle aleigence, whiche (as he saithe) mynded not to breake for any thing, submytting hymself vnto the quenes clemencye and mercye. Wherefore I most humbly desyre your honors to stande so mouche his good Lordes as to vouchsave that he, by your commaundementes, may be assystant vnto me in this the quenes highnes affayres by your good appoyntementes, whiche shalbe no lyttill comfote vnto hym. And as for thapprehencyon of S^r Arthure Champernoun, I shall with all convenyent spede as I may folowe to thuttermost of my power, and of William Thomas¹ also yf he be not alredye fledde, (as the brute is here he is) vpon whom I haue layed secreat spyall. And as touching the rest of the quenes heighnes affayres as sone as S^r Richard Edgecomb and S^r Hugh Pollard may make their repayre vnto me (for whom I haue with all spede sent) doo our endeoures therein accordingly, as to our bounden dutyes dothe appertayne, and to yelde vnto her grace the hole Countye of Devon, with the Cytie

¹ William Thomas was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, on Friday in Whitsun week, 1554. Thomas was a man of great ability, and stood high in the estimation of King Edward VI, for whom he wrote many essays on political subjects, some of which are printed by Strype. He was, however, very violent in his religious opinions.

of Exetter, which standithe all redye in suche good order and assurraunce vnto her heighnes as noman may desyre more better. Manye other Rumores ar bruted here which be to tedyous to be wrytten, whereof this berer can, and will, make perfecte declaracon at your commaundementes. Besekyng your honors taccept my power and trewe servis herin, and of my ferder successe in this behalf your Lordshippes shall haue trewe and spedye relacion. Thus God preserue the quenes Royall estate, and your honors all. ffrom Exetter the xxixth of January 1553.

Your Lordships to commaunde.

JOHN SENTLEGER.

No. 9.

*Sir John St. Leger to the Council.*¹

My dutye reight humbly presposed vnto your honorable Lordships, pleasythe it the same to be aduertysed of my ferder successe in the quenes heighnes affayres. Sethen the direcon of my last letters vnto your honors, S^r Arthure Champernoun, hering of my being at Exetter, came vnto me, offering hymself to thuttermost of his power, to be redye to serve the quenes heighnes in all her graces affayres, who, as I perceave, also had made lyke offer vnto S^r Thomas Denys before my comyng downe. The whiche notwithstanding, according to the trust reposed in me, I have apprehended, and have him in sure kypyng, purposing, the quenes highnes other affayres fully accomplyshed, to bring both hym and thothers vp vnto your honors, according to my dutye therein. And lyke as in my former letters I signified

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—No. 5.

your Lordships of the quiet state of the countres by me then passed and gone, even so have I now lyke cause (prayed be God) to do noles vniuersallye to this hole countye, fynding euery man to his habylitie, as redye to serve the quenes grace in all her affayres, whatsoever, as any harte can wyshe. And so Lykewyse, Lovingly and moost yoyfully, imbrase thartycles of treatye of her graces mariage, as to ther allegiaunce doth appartayne, even fully determyned and bent (yf occacion requyre) to spende their lyves & Lyvynges at her heighnes commaundement. fferder to advertys your honors, the quenes heighnes proclamacion agaynst the Duke of Suff: and all other his complayces is in these partes with all dexterytie, as well in Churches as Market Townes, published and declared; and thereby I trust the people putt in suche redynes as to them in that parte belongythe. And forasmouche as it was bruted here that Sr Pcter Carewe, with others, departed, prevely, and toke the seas at Waymouth on Tuesday night last past, I caused John Graynfyld to make furder inqyre for the trothe thereof and thervpon Receaved aunswere as may appere vnto your honors by his letter hereinclosed. And as touching William Thomas (notwithstanding I haue made due serche and espieall for hym many secreat wayes) I cannott, as yett, attayne any other knowledge but that he went from Mounnesautrey into Wales (as it was thought) too dayes before Sr Petur Carewes departure from the same. And also consulting with certayne gentlemen, and other the quenes faithfull Subiectes, for the better conservacon and defence of the most daungers places nere the sea costes in theise partes, fynde very great cause (for that Sr Pctur Carewe hathe a Castell at the Towne of Dartmouth and knowithe the countrey, as well by the seas as lande, nere thervnto) to

staye the longer heare. And as I am enformed by credeable reporte that the said Sr Petur Carewe hath often tymes in his keping at his Castell their, said that yf he were the Kinges enimiey he could gete the forte that the towne hath theire, and burne the Towne with fewer then a hundred persons, and lett ynto the haven suche as pleased hym. I, also, am credeably enformed, the way howe he shuld be able so to do, is, That within a myle, or les, of the said Towne there is a very good and open place, called Blackepoole, for the quenes enmyes to lande and invade, and from thense may come to the said Towne by the backside, and also burne the Towne, and take the Castell, and the haven, and so to comme in and out when it shall please thenymyes; as the berer herof can ferder make declaracion. Whervppon we haue taken order for good watche to be kepte at Dartmouthe, and good respecte to be had to the said place at Blackpoole, vntill suche tyme as your pleasors may be knowen what is ferder to be done therin, Trusting your honors will take the same in noles good parte then I have mente them. Thus I wyshe vnto you alle longe lyf with thencrease of vertuus honor. ffrom Exetter the iiijth day of this instante february 1553.

Yower honors to Commaunde

JOHN SENTLEGER.

No. 10.

*John Graynfyld to Sir John St. Leger, Sir Thomas Denys, and Sir Roger Bluet.*¹

RIGHT Worshipfull as your to commaund. I haue examyned John ffursman what intelligens he had of the

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—No. 5.

gentilmen that shipped at Waymouth. his aunswere ys that on sondaye last he Rid from Dorchester to Weymouth, and by the way he did see ij little vesselles at seae, being ij Legges from the Shoure. At his coming to Weymouth he Lodged at one Buckleres howse, that married one perce his wife, and, setting at supper, one Edmond Knoplocke, partener of a Shipp with Master Tregunnet and the said Bucker, being in his Company, the said ffursman demanded what the barckes weire that past owt soo late of the haven. And Edmond Knoplocke saide one was a barcke of erringes, and in the other bote wasse passed iij gentilmen ; one being a little manne, the other of a meane stature, the third a more longer yong manne. And ferder, the said Edmond Knoplocke declared that he stode by the bote when they shipped themme selfes, and saw one of them haue a chayne of golde abowt his necke, and that he hard one of them say at departing, The King of Spayne wolde come shortely, he shalbe as well barkyd at as ever man was. And ferder, John ffursman sayeth, the next morrow he returned to Dorchester, and one Hughe Reynolde in his company, which saide to the saide ffursman that there had iij gentilmen layne within a litle of Weymouthe the thursday, friday, and saterday, and that they were veary liberall menne ; and more he can not say. Thus the Lorde prosper you. Wryten at Dartemouth the third day off february a°. 1554.

Your to command

JOHN GRAYNFYLD.

No. 11.

*Sir Thomas Denys to the Lord Chancellor.*¹

MAY yt please your right honorable Lordshippe to wete, there was a Rumor spred concernyng the arryvall of the prynce of Spayne ynto the countye of Deuon wyth a greate numbere of men, to what purpose yt was vnknownen to the most parte of the shyre, wherof I, & other gents were credablye enformed, wee, standyng yn greate feare, thought it good, accordyng to our bounden duetes, to aduertise the quenes maiestie therof by letters, to thentent that by her gracyous letters as well, wee, as all other her louyng subiectes, mought haue further knowledge of her pleasur yn that behalffe, Whervnto as well we & they wold and shalbe moste conformable, as yt apperteyneth to assured faythfull subiectes. Notwithstandyng the reporte made to her grace that wee had sett our handes to a byll to wythstande & defende his graces aryvall to the vttermoste, whiche was vntrewe, and no suche thyng mente, nor thought, for the moste parte of vs, other then ys a bove rehersyed, thof some, sithens, have wrought contrary to theyre bounden dutye of allegens, beyng therfore, accordyng to theyre demerytes, proclaymed Traytors; whervppon I haue sent your Lordshippe a Inventory of every mans goodes nowe remaynyng yn theyre howses, wyth a byll also to whome parte of Sr Peter Carewes goodes ys bestowed, and where the Quenes Ma^{tie}, of her highe clemeney and pety, hathe dyrectyd to me her most gracyous letters of comferte, (perceavyng her highnes dothe take my doynge in good parte most humblye therfore I do thanke her grace) and shall truylye serue her duryng my Lyffe accordynglie. I thynk a nombre of men

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—Vol. iii., No. 10.

kane reporte yf I had not byn the cytye of Exceter had byn lately in greate Jobertye of takyng by her graces enemyes. Over this my good Lord her highnes pleasure & commaundment ys, vppon payne of myne allegens, to advertyse her grace what hathe byn donne, practysed, or seyde, by any other persons emonge vs tochyng this last besenes, whycch thynges also, as farre as I kane heare, or perceave, I have sent youe hereyn cloyde, besekyng your Lordshipp to shewe to her grace the same. And as I shall here after further here for trouthe and perceave, I shall advertyse her highnes therof from tyme to tyme, as knoweth the holy Trynytie, who preserve your good Lordshipp yn greate honor & good helth, long to endure. Wryttn the 5th of ffebruarij.

your Lordshippes to commaunde

THOMAS DENYS.

An Inventory of all the goodes and Cattelles of Sr Petre Carewe, Knyght, takyn at Moneshotrey the xxxth of Januarij, the fyrst yere of the Raigne of our soueraigne Lady Quene Mary.

The Parler.

In Primis—a Table bord wyth ij leaves,
a Square borde, & ij Joyned stoolles.

The Stewardes Chambre.

Item—a ffetherbed, ij bolsters of ffethers, a peyre of Sheytttes of fyne Canivas, ij Coverlettes of Tapystery, a Joyned bedstede, a Tester of damaske wyth Courtyns of Sylke, the hangynges of the same chambre of blacke and yollowe saye, a greate payre of avndyers, and a Joyned Chere.

The Kinges Chambre.

Item—a Joyned Bedstede, a Cheare coveryd wyth grene clothe embrodered.

Item—a cheaste of gardevyans, a lytle cheaste, ij Joyned formes, a lytle table borde, a peyre of avndyers.

The Maydens Chambre.

Item—a fether bed, a bolster of ffethers, a mattres, a Joyned Bedstede, a windowe clothe off Redd and grene saye.

The Yollowe bedchambre.

Item—ii ffetherbeddes, a bolster of ffethers, a pyllowe, ij coverlettes of Tapystery, a payre of wollen blankettes, one payre of Canivas sheytttes, one payre of dowles sheytttes, a Joyned bedstede, iiij peces of hangynges of Tapystery, the hangynges of the Kinges Chambre of blacke and yollowe saye.

Item—one other hangynge of Red and Yollowe saye.

The corner Chambre next to the garden.

Item—a ffetherbed, a bolster of fethers, a coverlet of Tapystery, a wollen blanket, a Joyned bedsteyd, and a Joyned Coberd.

The Gallery.

Item—a Spyres Cheaste whereyn ys a cannepie of threyd & payre of Canivas sheytttes, xj payre of Dowles sheytttes, vj long fyne coberd clothes for the parler & borde clothes for the hall, & square clothes for square bordes, whereof one of dyaper, xij coberd clothes, xij Towells, wherof one of dyaper, iij dossen vij napkyns.

The Corner Chambre next to the Barne.

Item—a Joyned bedstede, a chere coveryd wyth grene clothe, a Wyndowe clothe of blacke and yollowe saye.

The Chambre vndre the Warderoppe.

Item—a Joyned bedstede, a cheare coveryd wyth grene clothe, iiij grene clothes of saye for the wyndowes, a shippes cheaste, a payre of avndyers.

The Warderoppe.

Item—a payre of harneys, whereof ij for Demylaunces, a square gardevyans cheaste, whereyn is iiij Jackes.

The Chambre over the gayte housse.

Item—a fetherbed, ij bolsters of fethers, a wollen blanket, a coverlet of tapystery, a Joyned bedstede, ij courtyns of Redd saye & greane.

Item—a Tester of the same, the hangyns of the same chambre of grene saye & Redd, a close stoole coveryd wyth greene clothe.

The Chambre next ouer the gayt housse.

Item—a fetherbed, a bolster of ffethers, ij pyllowes of ffethers, a peyre of ffustoyne blankettes, a peyre fyne of sheytttes, a coverlet of arres, a Tester of whyt and Redd sylke wrought, wyth courteans of sarsenet of whyt and Redd sylke to the same, a Joyned bedstede.

Item—one other bed & bolster of ffethers, a payre of sheytttes, a coverlet of Tapystery, a cheare coveryd wyth crymson sattyn embroideryd wyth golde lace, an other cheare coveryd with Red clothe, The chambre hangyd wyth arres, vj wyndow clothes of greane saye, a payre of avndyers.

The Plate.

Item—ij salltes of sylver whercof one ys gylte the other

vngylte, iiij spones of sylver, a stone cuppe coveryd wyth sylver, a cover sylver ffor a like cuppe.

The Chambre next wythyn the Lodge.

Item—ij beddes of fethers, one bolster of fethers, ij wollen blankettes, ij peyre of sheytttes, ij sompter clothes.

The Lodge.

Item—a ffetherbed, a bolster of ffethers, one wollen blanket, a peyre of sheytttes, a coverlet of Tapystery.

The Chambre vndre the brode Chambre.

Item—a joynded bedstedde, and parte of the same chambre hangyd wyth blacke and yollowe saye.

The Kechyn.

Item—a peyre of Iren Rackes, a yren barre, ij peyre of olde yren Rackes, a gredyarne, iiij broches, ii pot hangynges, a greate brasse pottc, iiij lesser brasen pottes, a chaffre of brasse, a grater, a morter, a pestle of brasse, v dossen & iiij Platters of pewter, ij dossen & iiij podengers, ix sawsers, a tarte plate, and a brasse panne.

The daye howsse.

Item—iiij brandyses of yren, iiij Tubbes.

The brewehowsse & bakehowsse.

Item—a ffornysse, v brewyng vates, a keler.

The buttrey.

Item—a bassen & yower of Tyn, ij pewter pottes, xi Candylstyckes of Copper, ij Candylstyckes of Tyn, a salte of Tyn, ij square brode clothes, a coberd clothe, ij Towelles, v napkyns, a Joynded stoole.

vpon the Bartyn.

Item—vppon the Bartyn ther ys Tyllyd xxxⁱⁱ acres of Wheate.

first, he saithe that vpon serche made withyn the Citie of Exeter, the xxvth of Januarij, he clymmed over the walles of the said Cittie, abowttes xij of the clocke of the said nyght, and, vpon brute made for his skalyng of the walles, he repaired to Mownesotrey, and there prepared hymself, yn armure, with the power of Sr Peter Carewe and there adherenttes, to the number of lxx men, or therabowttes, as he saithe.

It. John Poyntyngton, seruante to Robertt Denys, Esquyer, saithe that the same nyght that the said Sr Gawen skaled the walles of the said citie of Exeter he came a foote iij myles to one Christopher his howse of Stoke, his Servante, abowtte ij of the clocke yn the mornynge, and there he borrowyed boottes, and a horse to ride with, and so rode to Wyllyam Gibbes howse. And afterwardes he sent backe his lakey for the same John Poyntyngton to com and speke with hym, to whom he went, and the said Sr Gawen wylled hym to go with hym and take suche partt as he dyd, whiche to do he refused, saynge he had a Mr. whom he woold serve when he was commaundyd. Then the sayd Sr Gawyne desired hym to make hym matches for his gunnes, and so he dyd, after which tyme he desired the said Poyntyngton that yf any man dyd aske for hym he should answer he sawe hym not.

It. Sr Peter Carewe layd poste horses by all London way vnto Andover, and elsewhere.

It. he perswadyd with walter Rawlegh,¹ esquyre, to convaye hym away yn his barke.

¹ Walter Raleigh, of Fardel, father of the famous Sir Walter Raleigh. Mr. Raleigh married the daughter of Sir Phiilip Champernoun, by Katharine, daughter of Sir Edmund Carew, and relict of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, Esq.

It. as the reporte goethe, he was embarked at Waymouth the xxvth of Januarij by one Kyllygrew, with whom is gone Andrewe Tremayne,¹ John Courteny,² and James Kyrkeham,³ gentilmen.

It. he sent and had all his harnys and armure from Dartemouthe to Mownseotery, the xxiiij day of Januarij.

It. Wyllam Gibbes, esquier, saythe the reportte wente that Sr Thomas Denys woold cut his throte, and for that cause he wore a previe coate and his men also, beynge to the number of half a dosen, with dagges at there saddelbowes, and for no other yntent, and so with hys men, wente to Mownseotrey to the said Sr Petar his howse.

to whate yntent shuld he repaire to Sir Peter Carewe for feare of one before any other howse withyn the shere?

It. At the Cessions, after Christmas last past, at after none, yn Sayncte Petars Church of Exeter, Wyllyam Gibbes spake these words: that yf any man woold not stande to defende the Kinge of Spayne for his entre yn to this Realme, by cause they woold ravysshe there wyves

Sir Peter Carew and Sir Walter Raleigh were thus first cousins once removed; and the former, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the famous navigator, were uterine brothers. See note 1, p. 91.

¹ Andrew Tremayne, son of Thomas Tremayne, of Collacombe, by Phelip, daughter of Roger Grenvill. He and his twin brother Nicholas were killed at the seige of Newhaven in 1563.

² John Courteney, of Ottery St. Mary, or his son by Thonnasine, daughter and heir of . . . Huntingdon. See note 1, p. 35.

³ James Kirkham, of Blagdon, in the parish of Paynton, near Totnes, second son of Thomas Kirkham, by Margaret, daughter and heir of Richard Ferrers, of Finiton, by Jane, his wife, daughter and heir of William Malherb of that place, which family had been seated there from the time of the Conquest. Mr. Kirkham married and had issue Margaret, first the wife of William Westofer, and secondly of Edmond Argunton.

and daughters, and robbe and spoile the commons, that then there throttes should be cut. And yf Sr Thomas Denys and John Prydyaux dyd worke to the contrary theryn, that then bothe there throttes shuld be cutte.¹

No. 13.²*The Earl of Devonshire to Sir W. Petre (?)*³

AFTER my right hartie commendacions. Going to Andwerpe yesterdaie, about some earnest busynes of myne owne, it was there geven me to vndrestond that Sr Petre

¹ In the Privy Council Register we find the following entry :—

At Hamptoncorte the xxij of September 1554. Where the Ladie Tailleboys wief to Sr Peter Carewe hath made reight humble and earnest sute vnto the King and Quenes Ma^{tes} aswell for leave to write vnto her husbonde fromme time to time, as, also, to have licence to send him, presentlie, sum relief, notwithstanding the gretenes of her husbondes offence vpon her importunitie, nevertheles, and considering that she hath doonne herein for her parte noles thenne becamme a good and loving wief, their Ma^{tes}, being inclined to compassion and clemencie, haue byn contented to condiscende thereunto; and, therefore, it was this daie resolved by the lls that the saide Ladie Tailleboys, being called before them, shuld, for aunswere of the king and quenes heighnes pleasure in the premisses, not only haue thus muche declared vnto her that she might whenne she woulde write over the Sea vnto her saide husbonde, and for this one tyme only relieve him with her goodes, with out incurring their heighnes indignacion or displeasure for her so doing: But, also, the ll further decreed, vpon hir humble sute, that for her indempnitie and better discharge, this declaracion vnto her of the king & quenes heighnes pleasure herein shulde be entered as matter of recorde in the Liegier and Register Booke of the Counsaill, of which resolucion she being desirous to have a copie the ll were contented to graunt her therein, also, her humble request.

² State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—No. 66. Holograph.

³ Sir William Petre was the son of John Petre, or Peter, of Tor Newton, co. Devon, by Alice, daughter of John Colin, of Woodland, in the same county. He was a man of eminent ability, and stood high in the favour of four successive sovereigns, whom he served as Principal Secretary of State,

Carew was newlie arived, and, perceiving such towardnes in him towardes his reconciliacion, I thought, by my talk with him, I should be nothing therein hindered, whervpon, (the rather by your encouragement) I spak with him, and finde him such a one for his bodie redie to the servuice of the Kinges and Quenes Mat^{ties} as you shall never repent the friendshippe ye have shewed him; but touching his conscience, led by his religion. Although I have therabouts herd a good fitte (?) with hym, yet ther resteth, in that point, a pece of Work for you to bring him to a more perfection. I believe you shall do much with him, for, without doubt, he reposeseth his truste in you. I have from thence no other newys, saving of the being there of my L. Matravers,¹ whom I left there yet not departed towardes Englund. I have written this with myne owne hand but . . . inge my short dispatch hence I am there aboutes so busyed as leasure is verie scant, and, therefore, for this time, (not forgetting my right comendacion to my Lorde) I bid you right hartie farewell. ffrom Lovaine the xxij of Noveb : 1555.

and from whom he received other great preferments. He died 1572, leaving, by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Brown, Knight, Lord Mayor of London, two daughters, and an only son John, Knighted 1576, and in 1603 created Baron Petre of Writtle, in Essex, from whom is descended the present Lord Petre.

¹ Henry Fitzalan, although here called Lord Maltravers, had succeeded his father as Earl of Arundel in 1543. He was Deputy of Calais 1540—1543, was present at the seige of Boulogne in 1544, when he was created by Henry VIII Marshal of the Field, and where he behaved with great bravery. In the same year he was created K.G., and in 1546 Lord Chamberlain. He married Catherine, one of the daughters of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had one son Henry, who died in 1556, *s.p.*, and two daughters, Joan and Mary. Joan married Lord Lumley, and Mary, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk of the Howards. The Earl of Arundel died (1580 ?) but ten years before he levied a fine, by which the Castle and honour of Arundel were entailed upon Lord Lumley and Joan his wife

No. 14.

*King Philip to Queen Mary.*¹

SERENISSIMA Reyna, mi muy cara y muy amada muger. Y a auise, a V. Al^a. como auia recibido los dos perdones de Pedro Caro. Yo le mande dar el vno, y el otro embie a V. Al^a. para que se rompa. Y porque su muger va agora a esse reyno a procurar la execucion, y cumplimiento dela gratia y merced, que V. Al^a. ha hecho a su marido. Yo ruego afectuosamente a V. Al^a. que mande que se execute su voluntad con todo cumplimiento, y que por auer se detenido la dicha su muger en estas partes algunos dias mas delos que V. Al^a. mando, no reciba dano, pues ha sido por esperar a que yo scriviesse a V. Al^a. sobre sus cosas, y de su marido, loqual no he podido hazer hasta agora. Guarde y prospere Nostro senor la real persona y estado de V. Al^a. como yo desseo. De Brussellas a xvj de Março MDLvj.²

beso los manos a v. al.

YO EL REY.

G. Perez.

Translation.

Most serene Queen, my very dear and beloved wife,

for their separate lives, remainder to the lawful heirs of the said Joan, with remainder over to Philip, only child of Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, and his heirs. Lady Lumley died without issue, and the honour consequently devolved on Philip Howard, who became the Earl of Arundel, the superior title having been lost by his father's attainder in 1572. He married Anne, daughter of Thomas Lord Dacre, and by her was the father of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, the great patron of the fine arts, and the enricher of his country with many choice remains of antiquity.

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—Vol. vii., No. 20.

² This letter is sealed with a seal bearing the Arms of Spain, impaling those of England.

I have already informed you how I had received the two pardons of Pedro Caro. I have desired one of them to be given to him, and have sent the other to your Highness in order that it may be cancelled. And inasmuch as his wife is now proceeding to your kingdom to obtain the execution and fulfilment of that grace and mercy which your Highness has shown to her husband, I affectionately entreat of you to give orders that her desire may be fully complied with, and that the said lady may not receive any detriment for having remained in this country some days longer than the time prescribed by your Highness, since the delay has been owing to her having waited until I could write to you about her affairs and her husband;— which I have been unable to do until now. May our Lord preserve and prosper the royal person and estate of your Highness as I desire. From Brussels, the 16th day of March, 1556.

I kiss the hands of your Highness.

G. Perez.

I THE KING.

APPENDIX F.¹

Sir Peter Carew and Thomas Williams² to the Earl of Bedford.

PLEASETH yt your honor to be aduertised, that we by chaunce metinge at Exceter and there haveing some conference together of the state of the Countrey, have thought good to aduertise your L that we have not yet received any stampes for the testons,³ ne any other letters

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.—No. 31.

² Thomas Williams, son of Adam Williams, of Stowford, co. Devon, by Alice, daughter of Thomas Prideaux, of Ashburton. Sir W. Pole says he was "a man excellently learned in the laws of this realm, and Speaker of the Parliament House, A.D., 1562. He died in his young flourishing age, and left issue by Emeline, daughter and heir of William Crewse, of Chymely, John and Thomas, both of them thriftless."

³ The teston, or English shilling, was first coined by Henry VII in 1503, and was so called from the teste or tête—the head of the King. It was of the value of 12 pence. Henry VIII, in the latter years of his reign, greatly debased the coin, and the teston having suffered much from this cause, and having, moreover, been counterfeited to a very great extent, was called in by Proclamation dated 10th April, 2 Edward VI, and a new piece, differently stamped, of the same value, issued; such of the old coins as remained in circulation being reduced in value to 9d. The teston seems still to have continued unpopular, for we find a proclamation, dated 22nd December, 3 and 4 P. and M. (1556), against "wycked and vngodly persons who for their owne gaynes spred and caused to be spred rumours of the decaying or fall of the coygne or monyes commenlye called testons." In the 1st Elizabeth, testons were fixed at the value of 4½d and 2½d, and in the 2nd of that Queen's reign, by proclamation dated 9th October, they were ordered to be stamped to distinguish the genuine from the counterfeit, and skilful persons were appointed in London and in all the principal cities and towns to view all brought to them for that purpose, and affix the stamps. These coins were of the mint of Edward VI, and bore his head in profile, crowned, and it was directed that those of the value of 4½d should be stamped with the mark of a portcullis before the head of the King, and those of the value of 2½d, with a greyhound (sejant) behind the King's head. At the same time it was announced that a new coinage was immediately to take place, and the base moneys were to be exchanged for the good, but in the course of the ensuing year all base moneys whatsoever, were called in. Testons are now very rare, and fetch high prices.

frome the Counsell, by occasion wherof the people ar perplexed, and in some obloquy aboute the receipt of testons, w^{ch} is lyker to encrease then demynishe, for that it is bruted emoungest them that the stampers above reiect a great number of bothe sortes of testons for counter-faytes, so that they now vtterly refuse to receave any beinge vnstampd, not knowinge, as they said, the counter-faytes from the good ; we dare not use any enforcement to compell the people to take the testons lest the furnyture of the markettes might, perchaunce, by that meanes, be withdrawn. Howe requysite it is that stamper were sent hether your L can consider, and what inconvenyence maye growe by the wante of the same here, that elsewhere putteth the people in some quyet, is vnknownen, wherefore, we have thought good to perswade suche as have to do with receptes of the Quenes Maties to take and receave testons of both sortes without stampe, the rather to allure others to do the lyke. we hyer saie there ar stampes conveed into Cornwall, which may, perhappes, rather encrease the refusall of the testons with vs, not having the lyke. Of the dowbte we were in at your L departure, we trust shortly by your L meanes to be resolved. of the further estate of this countree this berer can aduertise your L. Thus, with consideracion of oure duties vnto your L. whome we praye God longe to prosper and preserve, we ende. Geaven at Exeter the xxviij of October 1560.

Your l to commond

P. CAREW

THOMAS WYLLYAMS.

*To the right honorable and oure
especiall good Lorde the Earle
of Bedforde be these delyvered
with spede.*

APPENDIX G.

No. 1.

*The Queen to Sir Peter Carew.*¹

RIGHT Trustie and welbeloved we grete you well. forasmucch as that cost of Devonshyre and Cornwale is by report mucch harted² with pyrates and Rovers, for apprehensn and repression of whom we wer mynded to have caused twoo of our owne vessells to haue bene armed to y^e seas, but consideryng how long it may be by reason of contrary wyndes or the same might come to those partes, and hearyng that sondry of y^e same pyrates do lye in y^e mouthes of some havens both about y^e Cape of Cornwall and the partes wher you dwell, we have thought it more expedient for y^e purpose to committ y^e care of this matter to you, lyke as in y^e same our counsell have of late, by our commandment, wrytten to you, and some others, to inquire of such as doo mayntean or releave y^e sayed pyrates. And therefor, of speciall trust conceaved in your wisdom and descreshon, we will and authorise you to cause on or twoo apt vessells to be made redy with all spede in some portes ther abowt, and to comitt y^e chardge therof to whom so ever you shall thynk mete, and therwith to devise and gyve order how y^e same pyrates, or some of them, might be apprehended, and for y^e chardges that you shall fynd necessary to be therin bestowed, we will not fayle but see that same redely payed and satisfied. And if you see not any lykelood how to apprehend them by

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.

² Hurted, injured.

this meanes ye shall further advertise vs, and yet, nevertheless, cause some practise to be used, that some of y^e sayd Rovers might be entyced, with hope of our mercy, to apprehend some of the rest of ther Company, which practise we have knowen doone good not long agoo in the lyke. This service at this tyme is vry requisite, and, therefore, of speciall trust, we do committ it to you alone, because herin secrecy and spede ar necessary; and consideryng you know our earnest intention is to have these malefactors taken we leave the manner how herin to procede to your polycy, and shall allow any thyng that you shall pott in execution to this end. Gyven.

*This draft is not dated, but it is
indorsed: 29 7bris 1564.
M. from the Q. Ma^{ty} to Sr
Peter Carew against Pyrates.*

No. 2.

The Queen to Sir Peter Carew.¹

TRUSTIE and Right welbeloved we grete you well. Wher we vnderstand by your letters to our counsell, how redy you ar to arme twoo shippes to y^e seas accordyng to our commandment for y^e apprehension of y^e pirattes vpon those costes, and that you desyre to know whyther the same shall have wages and victell of vs, or victell only, and for ther wages to have y^e spoyle of y^e pirattes. We allow very well of your redynes in this service, and thynk it best that the partyes to whom you shall committ y^e chardg (wherin also we vnderstand you have very good consideration in y^e choise of them) maye take ther benefitt of y^e spoyle, and be provyded only by

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.

vs of victell, and hervnto y^e Lo Admirall¹ is well consentyng that all his interest, ether in the pyratte vessells, or goodes, shall remayn to the takers, and so we praye you to vse all y^e spede that you can that we may here of some good to be doone herin. Yeven.

Endorsed: x Octobris 1564.

M. to Sr Peter Carew.

¹ Edward, 9th Lord Clinton and Say, was present in the sea service at the siege of Leith, and for his services on that occasion received the honour of knighthood. In the 1st Edward VI, he was appointed Admiral of the Fleet in the expedition against Scotland, and for his conduct at the battle of Musselborough received the grant of the manors of Braunseton, Co. Lincoln and Clifford, Co. Hereford. In 1549 he was governor of Boulogne, and with great bravery defended that place against the French, for which service he was publicly thanked by the King, declared Lord High Admiral for life, and received grants of extensive manors and lands. In 1551 he was created K.G., and the next year constituted Lord Lieutenant of the County of Lincoln. Having adopted the cause of Lady Jane Grey, upon the accession of Mary he was left out of the Privy Council and his patent as Lord High Admiral revoked, but by his exertions against Sir Thomas Wyatt he obtained the Queen's favour, and was one of the noblemen appointed to receive Philip of Spain on his arrival at Southampton. He acted as Lieut.-General at the siege of St. Quintins, and on the 3rd March, 1556, was again constituted Lord High Admiral, and appointed Lieut.-General and Commander-in-Chief of the forces proceeding against France and Scotland. On the accession of Elizabeth, he was immediately sworn of the Privy Council, and, having rendered further important services to the Crown, in 1572 was created Earl of Lincoln. On the 16th January, 1573, he was one of the peers who sat at the trial of the Duke of Norfolk, and in the following year was sent Ambassador Extraordinary to France to receive the ratification of the treaty of Blois from Charles IX. His lordship was three times married, first to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, and widow of Gilbert Lord Talboys, by whom he had three daughters; secondly to Ursula, daughter of William Lord Stourton, by whom he had three sons and two daughters, and thirdly to Elizabeth, daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, and widow of Sir Anthony Brown,—the lady celebrated by Henry Earl of Surrey as the fair Geraldine. He died on the 16th January, 1584-5, aged seventy-two years, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor.

No. 3.

*Sir Peter Carew to the Council.*¹

MAYE it please your honors. That wheras by the Quenes Ma^{ties} letters of the xxix Septemb^{re} last, I was commaunded to cause one or two apte vessells to bee made readye withe all speede in som porte heraboute, and to sette the same vnto the seas, to apprehende pirates. Because I thought it best for hir Ma^{tes} profitte, that suche maryners and others as were to bee employed in that service shoulde serve, without wages, for the spoyle onely to their owne vses, hir highnes being chardged with the victuelles, I theruppon wrote vnto your honors humblye beseching yowe thereby to be advertised of hir highnes pleasure in that behalf. Wheruppon I receaued letters from her Ma^{tie}, specifieng that her graces pleasure was, the maryners should take the benefitte of the spoyle, and bee provided onely by hir highnes of victuell ; with further warrantye, that my Lorde Admyrall was well consentyng that all his interest, either in the pyrates vessells or gooddes, should remayne vnto the takers. Vppon the same I caused not onely those two vessells, but also one other barke (whiche was besides my former commission warranted afterwarde by your honors letters) to be sette vnto the seas, who, ronnyng alonge the west coaste of England and fyndyng nothing there meete for their purpose, sayled over into Irelande, where they founde a hulke of Stukeleys² in Corke haven, whiche they brought awaye, hym self being, before ther arryvall there, on the shoare with the Lord Barry More,³ having

¹ State Paper Office. Dom. Cor.

² Thomas Stukely. See note 3, p. 75. At this period many young men of good families engaged in buccaneering expeditions.

³ See note 2, p. 108.

lefte certen of his men in the hulke to garde hir, who being shotte vnto, roade vnto the shoare in their longe boate. ffrom thens they went to Beere haven, where, before their commyng thither, Haydon, Lysingham, and Corbett, with other pyrates their complyces, hade withdrawn them selves into a Castle¹ belonging to the O'Sullyfan Beere,² & also their vessells so neere the same, plantyng their Ordenaunces on the shoare, and also in the Castle, as our men were not hable to annoye them. They mustered in sight of our men fyve hundred galloglasses and kernes, besides their owne soldiours, whiche were (as they could iudge) one hundred and thre score persons at the least. Althoughe our men hadde killed one of their capitaynes with shotte, whiche, (as I am enformed) was Lysingham, yet their owne shippes being shotte throughe, seeing no otherwayes how to prevayle further, considering of what force Haydon was, havinge married with O'Sullyfan's syster, who hadde committed the chardge of the Castle vnto his custodye, by whiche meanes he was like dayly to be succoured by those kernes, thoughtie best for feare of synkyng, after sondry shotte betwene them both,

¹ The Castle of Dunboy, a very strong fortress in Bantry Bay. It was captured by Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, in 1602, after a gallant resistance.

² O'Sullivan Beare was Lord of Bearehaven and Bantry. Sir Owen O'Sullivan, second son of Desmond, by Shilia, daughter to Donell M'Cartie Reoghe, by Elinor, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, succeeded his brother Donell in 1565, after the custom of Tanistry, but being desirous that his son should succeed him, he took his lands in fee farm from the Queen, with reservation of a small rent under Letters Patent, whereupon his nephew Donell commenced a suit against him. At last the matter was referred to arbitration, when Bantry was awarded to Sir Owen and his heirs, and Bearehaven to Donell and his heirs. Sir Owen O'Sullivan died 1594. The marriage referred to in the text is not recorded in the pedigree, nor is any sister of Sir Owen O'Sullivan mentioned.

(whiche contynued from tenne of the clocke in the mornyng vntill foure at after noone) to departe: whiche service I, for my parte, am verry sorrye hadde no better successe, as I truste your honors will conceave no other opynion of me. I have of late receaved letters not onely from your honors, but also a Commission from the Courte of Thadmyraltye, to delyver the saide hulke vnto one John Peterson, a fflemynge. I humbly beseche your honors to consider that the maryners serving in this service for the spoyle onely, without any wages, seyng the hulke restored vnto the fflemynge agayne, being thonely gaynes they looke to have of this voyage, will furthwith make exclamacion vnto me for hir Ma^{tes} wages from the firste daye they were appoynted to serve, whiche will amounte vnto a greater somme then the hulke is twyse worthe, being in nombre thre shippes, and two hundred fortye and sixe persons, parte of them serving fyve monethes and som others sixe monethes. I haue alreadye disbursed monye owte of my owne purse to satysfy the maryners, thinking to haue contented them for the rest vpon the gaynes growyng of the saide hulke, whiche burden I truste your honors wilbe a meanes vnto hir Ma^{tie} shall not bee powred vppon me; I haue not, nor yet doo refuse delyvery of the hulke, but haue deferred it onely vntill I shall heare farther of your pleasures therin. The fflemynge is here with me, whom I doo entreate as well as my selfe. It is to be duely proved that in the towne hall of Kynsale, he affirmed before the Mayor & his brethern there, that, frankely and freely, he did compoude with Stukeley, without any compulsion or for feare. And so, humbly beseching your honors to be a meanes that the maryners maye have some convenient porcion of money for their service, seeing hir Ma^{tes} pleasure is that the hulke shalbe restored vnto

the ffilemyng agayne, I end. ffrom Mohunsotery, the xvij of Aprill, 1565.¹

Your honors to commaunde,

P. CAREW.

¹ On the same date he wrote a similar letter to Sir William Cecil reciting the services of the ships, and the claims of the seamen, and requesting that through his good means the delivery of the hulk might be deferred for a time, and so dissembled until the mariners were compounded withal for their wages; suggesting that the hulk was not considered by them as being worth more than £240, and enclosing the following statement of such charges as had been disbursed in the service, together with a note of his receipt in the same, and also what money was to be allowed to him in respect thereof.

The chardges of three shippes sent out of the West partes by S^r Peter Carewe, Knight, havinge in them CCxlvj men for the Aprehendinge of pyrates as followth.

Item. The victuallinge of the said CCxlvj persones for the space of vj monethes 1 week iiij daies, beginninge the xiiijth daie of October last and endinge the ix daie of Aprill followinge, both daies encluded, by a bill of parcells appearinge amoth vnto.... £DCClxxij.

Item. for Tonnaidge of the said three shippes beinge all three in burthen iiij xxxth tonnes: viz, The M^a bowes CC tonnes, The M^a baxter Clx tonns, and the Peter of Dartmouth lxx tons, for like time of vj monthes one week iiij daies, beginninge and ended as above saied, £ s d
at xij^d the ton foreuery moneth of xxviiij daies amoth vnto Cxxxvij. viij. xj

Item, for Gunpowther Provided for the saied shippes by a bill appearinge £xxxj.

Summa DCCCCxl. viijs. xid.

Whereof

Is Received by bill appearinge DCI. viz. of M^r. Peters, Costomer of Exeter, CC and of Sir William Daunsell CCC summa, £DC.

and

so resteth to clere this Reconyngge CCCxl. viij. xi

Note in Cecil's hand writing :

Add twoo hundred povnde for wages of y^e mene.

APPENDIX H.

No. 1.

A letter from John Hooker to Sir Peter Carew about his particular business in Ireland, 1568; 26 die maij.¹

My deere & right worshipfull, I am sorie that, hetherto, oportunitie hath not served to advertise you of my travells yn your affayres, but more sorie that I cannot geve you so full a satisfaction as to your content; neverthelesse, the good hope which I have conceived, & the happie success which, hetherto, enseweth, the same putteth me in good comfort that our exertations shall not altogether be frustrated. At my first comynge to to this Lande I travelled to M^r. Davells² house, the same beinge neere the halffe way betwene Waterford & Dublyn, & next adioynninge to your baronie of hydrone, which he shewed vnto me, & to him well knowen. I was verie curtuously entreated and enterteyned of him, beinge promysed of his frendship & helpe to thuttermost of his power, which I trust shall stande yn good steede.

At my comynge to Dublyn I deliuered your lres to the Lorde Chancellor,³ & to M^r. Draycorte;⁴ both of them I fynd as frendly as I can wish. I am lodged with thone, and have the dayly company of thother; few or no

¹ Lambeth MSS. 605, fol. 5.—Original.

² Henry Davells. See note 1, p. 75

³ Weston. See note 2, p. 73.

⁴ Draycott, Master of the Rolls. See note 2, p. 74.

daies escapinge which we spend not in perusinge the recordes in the Castle of Dublyn. I have promysed to conseyder his paynes & curteseye, but cannot yet devise what may be for his iust satisfaction. He is so well bent to Sr William Cicell¹ as for to satysfye his request no paynes ar to hard for him, which shall be well were advertysed by your lres vnto M^r. Secretarie, with a request to obtayne his further commendacions with thankes for his paines: for so I hope of the contynuaunce of the same.

At my fyrst comynge hether Sr William fytzwilliams, L. Justice, was at Knockfarges, and therefor dyd send your lres to my Lady to be addressed & conveighed vnto him, but it happened that he beinge fallen sycke yn a fever there, was enforced to returne home; & now lyeth at his house of Glassone hall, dystant about V myles from Dublyn, to whom, the next day folowing, I dyd repayre, and had conference at Large with him yn his chaumber of your affaires, which he seemed so miche to tender as his owne; promysinge so miche his helpe, frendship, and furtheraunce as he can possyble do, and as I can or will him to

¹ Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley. The political career of this great statesman is too well known to need recital. His father, Richard Cecil, in 1530, was Yeoman in the office of Master of the Robes. The son attracted the attention of King Henry VIII, whose favour he obtained. On the accession of Edward VI, he received the honour of Knighthood, was made Secretary of State, and sworn of the Privy Council. During the reign of Mary he did not hold any public office, but immediately on the accession of Elizabeth he was restored to his old place of Secretary of State. In 1572 he was honoured with the Order of the Garter, and appointed Lord High Treasurer. He was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge from 1558 to his death in 1598. Lord Burghley was twice married: first, to Mary, sister of Sir John Cheke, by whom he had issue Thomas, his successor, the ancestor of the Marquis of Exeter; secondly, Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Giddy Hall, Co. Essex, by whom he was the father of Sir Robert Cecil (ancestor of the Marquis of Salisbury), and two daughters.

do, although he his travells sholde be to Rome for you ; and further, hathe willed me, from tyme to tyme, to repayre vnto him for such conference as I shall thincke good, wherein, byside his owne person, I shall not want horse, menne, or monie, or any thinge he hathe.

After this my conference with him I dyd allter and change my mynde of my former purposcs, and, resolvinge my selfe to followe his advise, do now travell for the serche of suche your Landcs as are holden of the Castle of Trymme: for the same lyeth all within thenglyshe pale, & as proffyttable & gaynfull as any Lande yn all Erlande: but I fynde this to be both paynfull, troublesome, &, I feare, a suet infynitt: ffor the saide Landes, beinge these many yeres yn the possessyons of gentlemen of worship & of great welthe, wolde be lothe to yelde & forgo the same nowe; and, as I do geusse, they mystrusting what sequell might ensewe, their fyrst purpose & procurement therof have altered & changed all tholde & auntyent names, and verie few knowen by the same savyng Maston, which is a stronge & a fayre castle, & now yn the tenure of one Sr Christopher Chyvers, Knight; who hiringe of my beinge here dothe feare & quake at the matter, & so doth a number of others, also, which thinke not so well of their tytles as they dyd, but to serche the certeyntyte of any thinge amonge them requireth a longe tyme, neverthcles, I will very shortly repaire to that countrie, & make serche thereof, as neere as I may, wherein I am offred verie miche frendship of sundrie gentlemen of Englande dwellinge in those partes, who, some of them for aquaintaunce with you, and some of them for your names sake, do wishe you good successe.

I fynde emong all the recordes nothinge preiudiciall agaynst you, but onely that Masten was resumed yn to

the Kinges handes the syxthe yere of Kinge henrye the syxthe; the wordes of the recordes ar these: "*Escaetor: Rūdet de Redd le Maston quia capitur in manus dñi certi de causis.*" This Entrye is made yn dyverse rolls of accomptes of the Eschetor of Erland, but was never peny awnswered, nor yet the same in the Kinges handes, as also no cause alledged why the same sholde be taken yn to the Kinges handes; wherfor, the supposall is, that it was either for the awnsweringe of suche debtes as your auncesters, beinge escheters & sheriffes, sholde owe vpon their accomptes, or for that some alyenacion was made thereof without leave, which beinge payed, or pardoned, the bookes & accomptes therevpon dyschardged, and the same clene exempted out of the Kinges handes: wherfor, they who now have it must declare and shew how they holde it, which, if they do with curtesey the more easye it wilbe for them & you both: but I will, as am by frendes advysed, forebeare to deale with any of them yn this cuntrye of methe before your owne repaire hether: for other thinges of greater importaunce beinge obteyned, I trust we shall, with the more ease, compasse & atcheve unto this. In the meane tyme I will travell what I may for the knowledge & vnderstaundinge, as well of Landes & occupiers thereof, as also for other thinges necessarie to the same. And this miche for your Landes holden of the Castle of Trymme, yn the cuntrye of Myde, or Methe.

As for the residew of your Landes lyinge in the counties of Corke and Carlowe, or Catherloghe, the same perforce being taken from your auncesters, maketh no good tytyle to the occupiers thereof: for they do deduce their race & genealogie from them who yn deede destroyed your auncesters: as namely, Caringdoms, who were seneschalls to your auncesters for your Landes in the countie of

Corke; the too brothers contendinge for the same were by the said Caringdoms slayne, & so, sithence, by force, kept by them. This Lande, by the first graunt from Kinge Henry the ijnd, was called by the name of a Kingedome; as by your lres patentees appeareth, whereof thone moitie descended to your auncesters, who from tyme to tyme haue awnswered to the Kinges of Englande the xxxth Knightes fees, accordinge to the contentes of your lres patentees, as shall appeare vnto you by sundrye copies of recordes which, herewith, I have sent vnto you. This Lande whether it be so fertyll & fruetfull as I am advertised I cannot tell: but by God's grace I will shortlye see it, assone as I have viewed & surveyed the countie of Methel, which I mynde to do immedyately after this terme, and then, trinitie terme ended, I will repayre to the residewe. And as for the recoverie hereof I trust you shall not neede to doubt at all but that wilbe as easye as the recoverye of your baronie of hydron, which baronye is now in the tenure of a certeyne sorte called the Carvanaghes. These do deduce their Genealogie & race from the Mc Murghe, who proclaymyng him selff Kinge of Lynstere dyd expulse, & destroy all the race & nacion of thenglish bloode, & invaded their Landes & Enheritance; and that which apperteyned to your auncesters, these Carvernaghes do, with lyke right, kepe & occupie. These menne, thoughte they be of stoute stomack & courage, & of suche service as none better yn this realme of Erland, and dwellinge out of the Englyshe pale, yet S^r Nicholas Herne¹ brought them to the quenes peax. And Mr.

¹ Sir Nicholas Hern was constable of Carlow from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to 1567, and held the castles of Carlow and Leighlin Bridge. He was succeeded by Stukeleigh, and in 1568 it was

Stukeleigh, now supplying his place & dwellinge at Laghlyn, dothe, yn lyke order kepe them yn subgection & vnder bonde; they beinge all to his commaundement. And, dealynge with him herein, as also with M^r. Davells, I fynde so miche frendship offred as I can wishe; who will do what they can possyble; and am offred to have the possessyon thereof when so ever I will, which is thought best sholde be donne to your selffe, and whereof you shalbe seased & possessyoned when so ever you come; ffor as thoccupiers thereof have no iust tittle, nor any thinge to shew for their title, so ar they not hable to withstaunde you, nor suche your ffrendes as you have here: nor shall you be in daunger or perell for thatteyninge vnto the same, or for the kepinge thereof.

The soyle & countrie of that baronny is very large and great, and yn all Europa not a more plesaunt, sweter, or frutefuller Lande; the same beinge referted with all thinges necessarye for man yn any respecte, servinge for pleasure or neede, ffor huntynge the stagge, the hare, the fox, the wolff, for your pleasure at will; for hawkinge with all kyndes of hawkes, at partridge, rayle, fesaunt, crene, byttern, & a number of other foules, as miche as can be wished, & desyred. ffor fyshinge, there is as miche as any freshewater can geve; the seas ar somewhat dystaunte from this countrie of hydron, but yet, on thone side, a goodly ryver called the barro flateth through the whole countrie, and this so serveth the countrie that vpon it they do conveighe all their comodyties & marchaundyses from the seas, or from waterford, even to the house of Laghlyn; which house staundethe full vpon the saide

designed to replace him in his former office, but he died in England in September of that year. See note 2, p. 75.

ryver. This Laghlyn was sometimes the house of your auncesters, & by them made a monastrie,¹ which beinge dyssolved is now yn the quenes handes, & a very stronge castle² which M^r. Stukeleigh hathe, who hathe offred me the same house, or any other which he hathe, to be at your commaundement. And, notwithstaundyng baly-moan, & balylaghlyn, & other castles and townes of your owne ar neere the same house, yet do I fynde none so fytt & meete for you as the house of Laghlyn, the same, aswell for the caridge of your housholde stuffes, as other your implements, by water, as, also, for the beinge thereof so neere your Lande, servinge best for your turne; and your lyinge there shall have all thinges servinge your necessytie or pleasure, at a farre more reasonable hand then at Dublyn, where I do fynde all thinges to be at doble price yn respect of our thinges in Englande; notwitstaunding, there also, I am assured of a house for you, to serve when you shall have occasion to resorte thether, as of necessitie, beinge here, you shalbe enforced vnto. And, therefor, if you do mynde to bestowe a sommer iourney, which shalbe verie requisitt & necessarie that you do, then resolve your selffe to make your first repayre vnto Dublyn, where I have apoynted a house for you & your company. That when conference hathe benne had with the Lorde Depute, & others your ffrendes, you may proceade effectually & substauncially to your matters, whereof make you no

¹ About the end of the reign of King Henry III, a monastery for Grey Friars was founded by one of the Carews. This institution suffered the fate of the other religious houses at the dissolution, and the house having fallen into the King's hands, was converted into a fort by Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord Deputy, in the reign of King Edward VI.

² This garrison is still in being, and now consists of a roomy tower, fifty feet high, at the angle of a quadrangular enclosure, with a rampart and a ditch on the outside, flanked by towers at the angles.

doubt or mystrust for thatteynnge thereof: namely of the baronny of hydron, as, also, as I hope, of Corcke. I have entered acquaintaunce with suche gentlemen as who do not onely knowe the countrie, & who have dwelled these many yeres emonge them, but, also, can discourse your whole estate & right, which they do so miche tender that you neither shall, nor can, wante the thinge which may be for your ayde, furthuraunce, and helpe, to thatteynment of your right & enherytaunce here; neither hath hetherto, as I beleve, benne a better oportunitie offred for the recoverie thereof then now is. And, albeit, this may seeme very comfortable and pleasaunt vnto you (as it is no lesse) yet do not you make your accompt of a more gayne & proffytt then you shall fynde, for though a great countrie of lande may happely fall yn to your handes, yet there growethe not thereby suche benefytt or gayne as yn other countries, a great deale of land here beinge sett to a small price, and yet the same rentes not payed in monye, but yn corne & cattall; servinge for the mayntenaunce & kepinge of the Lordes houses, who, if he have not other meanes for monye, he shall not be hable to meantean his state yn worship, & kepe his people yn subgection, oneles he will yelde to lyve after the salvage manners of the Irishe. And, therfor, you must be furnyshed with store of monye, & with more then you shall neede to spende, to prevent what may ensewe, for if you haue it not of your selfe it is not here to be had, which I do fynde by experience & tryall [ffor fearing what neede I sholde have of monye in your affayres, dyd travell with the L. Justyce, Sr William fytzwilliams, for the lone of xl. who most curtuosly promysed the same; and hath paid me thereof xxl.: but how hardelye he came by so miche, and with what troubles his servaunt gotte it,

I do knowe it right well, aswell by his L. lres, as also by his servauntes report. I have to request you to take order for the awnsweringe of the saide xl.] for, albeit, presentlye, I have no neede at all, yet to make preparacion for suche thinges as shalbe necessarye requireth monye in redynes, specially yn this countrie, which of monye & good people is verye barreyne; wherfor I have to pray you that vpon your resolueinge to make your repaire, you do forthwith sende me your lres of advertisement, that I maye have yn redynes suche thinges as be requisytt. And, albeit, I be but a badd steward, yet I will do what I may do, bothe for your worship and your estate, wherein you maye haue regarde to your self. ffor in Dublyn all thinges ar at a hard hand, and yet, I doubt not but you shall, at as good a hand, kepe your house here yn exon; so that you do furnyshe your selfe out of your countrie, spyce, sugar, and such other foryne wares & merchaundise. And, forasmiche as an expert man in these thinges may do you pleasure here, I haue thought to move you of one who was sometime servaunte & steward to Sr Thomas Chaloner,¹ being ambassador yn Spayne, a man very expert & skyllfull as also to his saide master profytable, and of whose prayse I wolde speake as I have herd, if he were not myn owne brother²; he now dwelleth with thold Lady Mountioye, and for whose trouthe I will not refuse to geve posytt³ as miche as I am hable to.

¹ Sir Thomas Challoner, of Gisborough, Co. York, and Steeple Claydon, Co. Bucks, an eminent scholar, poet, and statesman. In 1559 he was sent ambassador to reside near the King of Spain then in Flanders. He married Etheldreda, daughter of Edward Frodsham, of Elton, in Cheshire, and left an only son Sir Thomas Chaloner, a man also of eminent abilities, who first introduced into this country the manufacture of alum. See note 1, p. 18.

² See note 2, p. 222.

³ Deposit.

If your worship & my ladye shall so thincke it good, I have geven order to my wyff to send for him. I trust he shall lyke you both yn suche sorte as to your contentes. fforthermore, forasmiche as your matters here are of suche importaunce & weight as do require a tyme before they can be brought to their full effecte, and I have promysed & yelded my selfe vnto the following thereof vntyll your full satisfaccion & content, have to pray you to advyse with your selfe whether you shall thincke it so meete & convenient that, your resolucion therein knowen, my wyff may send me suche furnytur as I have apoynted for my necessarye vse heere, and that the same may be sent yn your bark, with your stuffe & carriages.

My Lord Chauncelor being very sicke yn the goute & my Lord Justyce Fytzwilliams yn an agew, nether of them being hable to wryte their lres of commendacions as they apoynted, haue willed me yn their behalffes, & yn their Ladies, to do the same vnto you. Mr. Draycot, Mr. of the rolls, lykwyse saluteth you, who wishethe you good successe yn your affayres, so that it be not to your over-greate chardge: for he, havinge a regarde onely to the Lawe, measureth all thinges by the chardges thereof; but we have, & must have, a nother way to the woode: . Mr. Stukelye, also, most hartely yeldethe his dew commendacions vnto you, who, dyscoursinge with me, declared how miche he was bounden to your worship yn his worst estate: ffor then when all men dyd report evell of him, yet you gave good reporte, & spake yn his defense, which he will not fayle to consider with thuttermost of his power. And hetherto it seemeth he speketh of a very good hert, for he hath offred me for you, his house yn Dublyn, his house of Laghlyn, & one other house which he hathe neere there aboutes, together with any thinge what so

ever he hathe. And trewly for your barony of hodron there is no one man yn all Erlande of his degree which can do you more pleasure then which he will not fayle to do, as you shall well perceve at your comynge. I am sory that you had not sent him a lre, which he seemed somewhat to be greved withall that he had not benne as well consydered with one as others were, yet, notwithstandinge, I dyd, by my lres, & then by pryvat conference, excuse the matter, alleginge that you resumed the lres from me vpon reporte made that he sholde be come to London. Lastely of all, I have to commende myn owne Dewtie to your good worship, & my good Lady, as also my hartie commendacions to my lord bishop,¹ to the lady Rogers, (?) & to all the resydew of my ffrendes; namely, to Mr. Maior² & his brethren, with an excuse for my absence, & that I may be borne with all vntyll I have exployted, & brought to effect, your matter & cause, now taken yn hande. The aple is almost rype, &, I trust, shortly, wilbe ready to be gathered, which God graunte. I trust you will not forget to bringe with you your too phisicyons, namely Mr. Welton & Narcissus, who both yn their severall callinges, bysides their service to yourselfe, they shall do miche good here: and for thone of theyme, yn hope he might have pleased your good ffrendes now oppressed here with sycknes, I have full estsoones wished him here. Lykwyse I have to put you yn mynde that if Sr Gawen Carewes Cooke do departe from you that you do deale with Mr. Thresurer³ for his Nycholus,

¹ Bishop Alley.

² Mr. Robert Chave.

³ Richard Tremayne, D.D., son of Thomas Tremayne, of Collacombe, Co. Devon, by Phelip, daughter of Roger Grenville. He was installed Treasurer of Exeter Cathedral on 27th October, 1561, Blackstone deprived, and died,

who, for a somers voyage, will not, as I thinke, denye him you. And thus wishinge you helthe, long lyffe, and increase of worship, I byd you most hatly well to ffare. ffrom Dublyn the xxvjth of May 1568.

Yo^r worshipp most assured
to his power

JOHN VOWELL
als HOKER.

*To the right worshippfull Sr
Peter Carew, Knight, geve
these at his house of Ex-
cester, Mohonsotrey, with
all reverence.*

No. 2.

*A letter from John Hooker to Sr Peter Carew, about his
business in Erlande, 1568, 26 Maij.¹*

May it please your worship, I haue, herewith, sent you the copie of thacte of parlament made the xxvij yere of Kinge Henry the viij, for resuminge of certeyn Landes yn Erlande yn to the Kinge's handes, as also the copies of certeyne recordes which I have selected, chosen, and gathered, out of the rccordes yn the Castle of Dublyn ;

1584. For his brothers, see note 1, p. 180. Another brother, Mr. Edmund Tremayne, was sent over to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, in 1573, to make several inquiries, and among others, "To know what is intended to be done with Desmond and his brother John, and how their creditors in England shall be paid?" The Earl and his brother had just returned from their captivity in London.

¹ Lamb MSS., 605, fol. 9. Original.

by which it shall appeare how that, accordinge to your evydences, your auncestors have benne possessed of sundry seignyories within this realme of Erlande, & have yelded the service to the prince dew for the same, of which no parte, nor porcion ys in the Quenes handes other than the Castle of Laghlyn; neither hath she any peny proffytt, by any parte, or porcion, thereof. Whereof her highnes & her honorable counsell being advertised, will not myslyke, I trust, that you be permitted to receive the same, having suche right, & so good tyle vnto it as no man can iustly denye it, saving they which, perforce, do withhold it, and whose auncestors, by oppressinge, expulsinge, & murderinge of your elders, dyd first attayne thereunto; by whose means the Quenes Ma^{tie} hath benne defrauded of suche service as your auncestors, beinge seased of the same, dyd & were wont to yelde & paye; besydes the greate charges which the Kinges of Englande have yn wast consumed, for the repressinge of these rebells & wylde lawles kernes. And yet, now, it may, under her highnes favor, so com eto passe, that you may agayne attayne & recover the same, with some gayne and recompense, yn thend, to your selfe, a comodytie to your owne nacion, & the greate benefytt to the Quenes Ma^{tie}; without any her chardge. When you have throughly persved, and conferred the same with your owne evidence, take advice what you will or may do: and if you mynde to take thoportunitie now offred, & may be permitted, I wolde wishe you to acceleratt & hasten your repayre hether, & not to lose this somer, which allready begynneth to slack here. And albcit greate chardges do or may growe yn suche new attemptes, yet, I trust, with the Quenes Ma^{tes} favor, you shalbe at the lesser charge: of which your pleasure I pray you to be advertyscd with all expedicion, that I may

provyde & set all thinges yn order accordinglye. And so recomendinge my dewtie vnto your worship, I wish you long lyffe, with thincrase of worship. ffrom Dublyn the xxvjth of May 1568.

Yo^r worshippes to commande

JOHN VOWELL
als HOKER.

*To the right worshipfull
Sr Peter Carew, Knight,
these at Excester, or
atrey, with all dew
reverence.*

No. 3.

*Sir Peter Carew to Sir William Cecil.*¹

Good Mr. Secretary. The full assurance and good profe whiche I have heretofore fownde of your sondry curtesies towardes me, doo the more embolden me to advertise your honor, hereby, aswell of the state and occurrentes of this realme, as also of the good success of my own pryvate causes within the same. My Lorde Deputie² hath of late made a iourney into the Counties of Offaly and Leys, where he fownde thinges in verry good ordre, and so ar all the countrees where our own countremen ar either Seneschalles or Sheriefes. His L., comyng to Kylkenne, caused execucion to be doon vpon a great nombre of Edward Butliers followers, and also dyvers others at Waterforde; not by martyall lawe, but by

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

² Sir Henry Sydney.

veredictes of twelve men, orderly : whiche is so good an example, and terror, vnto the countree, as (I suppose) it will remayne in better quiet thereby a long tyme hereafter. Howe vigilant and carefull his L. is for the preservacion of this common wealthe in good ordre I neade not to write, for that the same is apparent vnto all mens eyes ; as, if they offre hym not open wronge, they muste neades acknowledge his industrie and diligence therin.

As concerning my own pryvate causes, the same remayne in sorte followinge. The matter betwene the Cavanaghes and me, touching the Baronye of Odrone, being sondry tymes debated at the Counsell boorde before the Counsell and Judges of this realme by their learned counsell and myne, at length, vpon good deliberacion, and just grounde, was adjudged by them, vnder their decree and handes, to bee my rightfull inheritance, whiche, also, was afterwarde confirmed by his L. ; who having first harde som parte therof, and proceeding afterwarde in this saide iourney, comitted thordre and iudgement of the same vnto them. Whiche decree I have also exemplified vnder the greate seale of this realme. I had also to doo with a Knight of this lande, named S^r Christopher Chevers,¹ for seven townes he holdeth in the Countie of Methe, who, after two or three hearinges of the same at the Counsell boorde, before the saide iudges, intreated to have it debated pryvately betwene frendes, and to bee referred vnto the iudgement and determynacion of S^r Thomas Cusacke,² ffor observing whose ordre

¹ Sir Christopher Chivers was Knight^h year 1566.

² Sir Thomas Cusack, Judge of the Chancery of the Exchequer there, 1534 1541 ; Master of the Rolls, 1542-50 ;

therin, either of us entered into several bondes of two thousand poundes a peece. He shewed furth a conveyance from an awncestor of myne, named Sir Nicholas Carewe, dated the xxijth yere of the reign of King Henry the sixte, for one of those townes called Maston, wherein standeth his own Mansyon Castle. But the same was so newe of ynke, parchement, and waxe, as it is not thought to bee of that age and substaunce it was alleaged to be. ffor thother sixe townes he was not hable to shewe any sufficient matter, but wolde fayne have made them to be parcell of Maston, whiche I disproved by sondry polle deades, mentionyng the same to bee several manors of them selves. Mr. Chevers offered me eighteen yeres purchase for so many townes as he was not hable to make good title vnto, whiche I, of my self, graunted hym for fyfteen yeres purchase, to bee viewed and rated by indifferent persones, chosen on bothe partes. I feare me I have byn to tedyous, and therefore doo referre the further reaporte of my matters vnto this bearer, vnto whom if it shall please you to give creadit he shall enforme your honor therof at large. And thus, as one who thynketh hym self your bounden duringe lief, with right humble thankes for your greate and many curtesyes, and like comendacions, doo ende. ffrom Dublyn the xxvjth of December 1568.

Your honors to comaunde

P CAREW.

*To the right honorable & my especial
good frend Sir William Cecill,
Knight, Chief Secretary vnto the
Quenes Ma^{tie}, and one of her
highnes most honorable pryvyve
Counsell.*

cellor, 1550—1555; one of the Commissioners to reside in Munster, 1564.
Died 30th June, 1572.

No. 4.

*Sir Peter Carew to Sir W. Cecil.*¹

Mr. Secretarie, havinge recovered by decree, as also by the Common Lawe, the Barony of Odrone, my Lorde Deputie, beinge carefull how, without the overmiche chardge of the Quenes highnes, the L. L. presydenes to be here placed may have there interteynement, hath dealt with me, about too monethes past, to know whether I coulde be contented, having the house of Leighlyn with thappurtenance, to dysbordon her Ma^{tie} of the garryson there; whereunto I, thinckinge his L. to have had suffycient power, comyssion, & autoritie yn this behalf, haue yelded and geven my consent, yn hope to do her highnes good service, with the dewtie of her most trustie & faythfull subgecte. Whervpon his L., cassynge² that bande, and dyschardginge Stukeleighe from thouse, hath placed me yn the sayde house. Sythens he is advertised from you that her highnes pleasure is all suche offyces as Stukeleighe had sholde be wholly delyvered vnto Nichs White,³ yn whiche generalitie the house of Leighlyn, with

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

² Disbanding.

³ Nicholas White was the second son of Sir James White, of Waterford. In the beginning of 1569 he was sent into Ireland, being one of the Council there. On his arrival at Colsell on his journey, the wind being contrary, he took the opportunity of visiting Tutbury Castle, whither Mary Queen of Scots had been conveyed from Bolton in the preceding month. A very interesting letter from him to Cecil, describing his interview with her Majesty, has been published by Mr. Wright in his "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i., p. 307. We find in the State Paper Office a letter from White to Sir William Cecil, dated 10th March, 1569, relative to his affairs in Ireland and the offices to which he had been appointed. He says: After those offices whereunto her Ma^{tie} hath apointed me, he (the Lord Deputy) said he would as nere as he could, accomplish her highnes pleasure

the chardge therof, seemethe to be comprysed. But, forasmiche as I am allredy, & was before the recepte of your letters, placed therin, and the whole countrie rounde aboute beinge myn owne enheritaunce, now yn my possessyon, and yn good & quiet estate; if I sholde now be removed & dysplaced, many wolde thincke the Quenes highnes dyd not staunde my good Ladye; bysydes my L. acte here cannot be revoked without some his dyscredytt; and to my selff it must nedes be a greate reproche, with some daunger & hasarde which may ensewe if the fekle people, now quyeted & yn stay, sholde, vpon change, seke to be at lybertie.

The house at Leighlyn, beinge but bare walles, standethe yn the mydle of my baronye, the whole land rounde about beinge myn owne, savinge a small porcon, which, with the house, is of the yerely rent of xlvj^s. viij^d. irishe. Whosoever shall dwell therein, bysides my selff, cannot there meanteane any chardge or famylye, oneles he do exacte vpon me & my tenautes. I do thincke, therefor, that as no man yn this Lande, having not the Quenes interteynment, nor yet any comodytie there, will either supplante me, or dysbourden her highnes of the yerely chardge of eight hundrethe markes, for seven

therein. And first touching the house at Lawghlin, he sayd he had discharged the ward there before my cominge, and Recomendeda a very beneficial offer made by Sir Peter Carew, bothe for the keping therof, and theexercising of the Rules belonging thereto, without her Ma^{tes} chardge, in whose possession the house then presently stood. White was knighted by Sir John Perrot, when Lord Deputy, and in 1572 made Master of the Rolls, but subsequently fell into disgrace, and died a prisoner in the Tower of London. He married four times. First, a sister of Sir Thomas Cusack; secondly, Isabel, daughter of — Devereux, of the Co. of Wexford, and widow of — Sherlock, of that county; thirdly, a daughter of Finglas; fourthly, a daughter of Brewton, who subsequently married Robert Harpoole the younger, Constable of Catherloghe. See note 6, p. 237.

nobles, (which is thonly recompense that I will seeke) onles it be for pryve malice & despite towardes me, which, I hope, I have not deserved, and, therefor, none will, I trust, shew me so miche iniurie. Thorder devised & purposed for the plantynge of Englysh men yn this countrie, for the makinge & buildynge of Townes which shalbe replenyshed with all sortes of Englyshe artyficers, and many other thinges purposed and apoynted for the good government, quietnes, & stay of this countrie, shall, by sequell of my doinges, & yn tyme, appeare to the acquittall of my faythe & truth yn her highnes service, and to the benefytt of this comonwelthe; whereunto I have suche regarde, and am so bent to the followenge thereof, that be you assured, M^r. Secretarie, that I will rather content my self with one hundreth poundes to compasse these exploytes, & to kepe the same yn quiet stay & good saffitie, then to receve fyve hundrethe poundes yn daunger & hasarde.

My L. Depute, as he is most paynfull yn her highnes service, and carefull to geue & exequite iustice & iudgement yn all matters betwene parties, so haue I founde him, yn my iust suetes, to be my verie good L., to whom I pray you, yn my behalff, to geve him your hartie thanckes. Thus I am allwaies bolde to trouble you yn all my suetes, havynge my close & specyall refuge vnto you, prayeinge yon to contynewe my good frend, and to have suche consyderacion of me & my causes, & as the necessytie of my estate requirethe, & to your wisdomes shall seme best. And thus, with my humble & dewe comendacions, I ende. ffrom Dublyn the xxij of februarie 1568 (1568-9).

Your assured
to command

P CAREW.

No. 5.

*Sir Peter Carew to Sir William Cecil.*¹

Good Mr. Secretarie. havinge recovered the baronye of Odrone I do now lye yn the house of Leighlyn, where I do fynde the Countrie yn quiet order, and they who sometymes were compted Lordes, contented, now, to lyve vnder me, & become my tennauntes. The house, as you knowe, is the Quenes, and hath onely seaven nobles by the yere out of it, and, yn consideracion I have dysbourdened her of the garryson there, whiche was chardgeable to her eight hundredthe markes by the yere, if it may please her I might have the fee farm therof to me & to myn heirs, I will bestowe money, bothe in fortyfyenge & renewenge the house, as, also, buylde a Towne there, & replenysh the same with all sortes of artyfycers. I do not mynde to departe hense before I have set all my thinges yn good & quyett staye, and, therefore, presently, I have sent for my wyf hether. In my sutes here I have founde the better frendship for your sake, and surely miche beholdynge to S^r Thomas Cusacke, whom I founde so indyfferent yn my causes with the Cavenaghes, that I referred to his iudgement my whole matter yn questyon betwene S^r Christopher Chivers and me: and therin he hath shewed him self vpright and indyfferent, adiudgyng vnto me suche & so many townes as by my Evydence dyd appear to be my right: I am miche bounden vnto him for it, whiche beinge donne for your sake, I do most humbly pray you to send hym your letters of thanckes, whiche he both will take yn most thanckfull parte, as also thincke

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

himself miche bounden unto you. The bearer hereof is my deere frende,¹ & he who hath travelled yn all my causes yn this Lande, and presently hathe certeyne matters to move you concernynge the comon welth of this realme, which he will breake vnto you. I am so bolde to commende him vnto you, prayenge that he may have your best furtherence & frendship, with dyspatche, that he may returne hether, as he hathe apoynted : for I shall thincke it longe or he do come. And so, with my humble comendacions to you, & to my good Ladye, I ende. ffrom Leighlyn the xxviiiij of Marche 1569.

Your assured to

Command

P CAREW.

*To the honorable Sr William Cecyll,
Knight, pryncypall Secretarie to
the Quenes Ma & one of her most
honorable previe Counsayle, geve
these.*

No. 6.

The Earl of Ormond² to Sir William Cecil.³

Sir—having com to this sitte yeaster night, I fownd 2 of my men that cam a twsday from Waterford, by whome

¹ The bearer was Hooker, and his suit probably had reference to the printing of the Statutes of Ireland, to execute which, at his own cost, he was granted a license by the Lord Deputy and Council in the preceding year. The original license may be found among the Lamb. MSS., No. 605, fol. 3. Hooker represented Athenry in the Lower House.

² Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormonde and 3rd of Ossery. See note 1, p. 87.

³ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

I vnderstand there wear, this month, serten incownters betwene Syr Peter Carew and my brothers men, and also my brother him self incowntered twis with Syr Peter, Capten Gilbert being with him, and som of my brothers men. Sir Peter & Gilbert salied owt of Kilkeny with 200 horssees, and set vpon 400 footmen or somewhat more, and slew a fowr score, of all sortes, among which 2 Captens of galeglas that wear tall felloes, and alway sarued with me wear slayne, not without loss of Sir Peters horsmen.¹ About the 9th of this moneth Syr Peter sent som of his horsmen to take hay from a mede of my brothers, and my brother seing hit gaue charge vpon them with 20 horses, and slew 14, at lest, as my men say, of Syr Peters horsmen. Syr Peter, the 3 tyme, gathered a great company, my brother being from home, and assawted my brothers hows,² hauing in hit but 8 men, and wanne hit, and put them to the swerd, and also did execusion vpon all the wemen and children that wear in the hows, and among all there was an honest ientell mans son in the hows, not 3 year old, that was also murdered. This viell enterprise was not ended without loss of Syr Peters syde of som suche as he dothe lament. This is the order now a dayes to com by the possession of my brothers landes, and to make the better quarell to his lyuinge my l. deputye proclamed him rebell. I hope the Quenes maiesty, of her grasiose goodnes, woll think of this manner of dealing with her subiects. Now, syr, mark the mischefe happened in this tyme, my countrye is invaded by the traytors James fytz moris, and Mackarty More, with all the menne and frends they haue, to the number of many thousands, mo in report then I beleve canne be trwe.

¹ See Narrative, p. 94.

² See Narrative, p. 93.

They haue vtterly spoyled my countrey of corn, cattell, and all I haue, so as there is not one plow going in the hole county of Kilkenny,¹ nor any liuing creature remayning in hit, saving such as kepe my howses and castels in the contrey, which I do hear lack powder. Besyd this they haue taken all my horses, so as I know not, when I land, what to do, nor how to get to my l. deputye, who hath sit so long still. Land I woll, God willing, in Waterford, and, if it be possible, I will pass somway, by day or night, thorow my contrey, if I may get horses. Hit was never sene that any traytor remayned one night in camp in my contrey, whyle I sarued in Ireland. Sir, I lament to hear of this wicked tyme. I wold God I had one thousand men at my landing in Waterford, to try my fortune among these caterpillers. The Quenes Maiestye

¹ The spoliation was not confined to the County of Kilkenny. In the State Paper Office is a letter from the Mayor and Corporation of Cork, dated 26th June, 1569, reporting that "the rebels under James Fitzmoris and Mc Cartie More, had assaulted and taken the house of Tracton, which they had spoiled and defaced, as well as the house of Carrygleyne, that divers men, as well English as Irish, were slain, and that none of the rebels were killed. They add that the rebels bragge that they will take the town of Kinsale, as also Cork. It is comunly reported," they continue, "that help cometh unto them from Spain, and that the Butlers are of this confedracie. The whole country between Cork and Kinsale is destroyed." There is another letter from the Mayor and Corporation of Youghal to the Lord Deputy, dated the same day, applying for sixty soldiers, and a barrel of gunpowder. They say: "As far as we can perceiue and understand if your Lordship do not come hether in all haste with a mayne armye, all the whole countrye is like to be overthrowne." There is also a copy of an information by William Sweteman, of Caselfyf, Co. Kilkenny, dated 27th July, 1569, of an interview with Sir Edmund Butler, from which it appears that Sir Edmund declared that in this quarrel he would not be ruled by the Earl of Ormond, and that he had exhibited treaties between James Fitzmaurice, Tyrlogh Lynogh, and himself. Two days after this the Butlers were joined by Fitzmaurice and Clancarty.

had nede look well to this. I pray you if her Maiestye send hether any soldiors, procure that I may haue som resonable number of them with such as I may haue of myne owne contreymente, for I assure you I wold not wyllingly trost my self among them alone, without I haue som english sowldiors among them, tyll I haue tryed their sarvice, which euer, heretofore, hath been good and faithfull, and I hope wolle be so now; but I wolle not assure hit tyll ther dedes shew hit. The l. deputy was not well aduised to soffer James Fits moris of desmond and therle of Clinkern,¹ to make this invasion in the Cownty of Kilkenny. The dishonor is great, the loss is more. Old Graee,² my man, landed 3 weeks ago in Waterford, sore handled with the gowt, my brother, hearing of his being there, cam to the watersyde to talk with him, Grace was caried betwen men to his bote, and, in the bote, talked with my brother, who asked, very earnestly, of the quenes maiesty, the other told hym, she was in helthe and uery well, "no, no," sese he, "I know well enogh she is poysoned, and my brother put into the towr, and there put to death." My man told hym he might know my hand wryting, he awnswered, my letter bore an old date. He asked agen, twis, if the quene wear aliue, the other swar she was aliue, and in good helthe as euer she was; "well," sese my brother, "if my l. be aliue, and that I may se him, I wolle beleue his word, and then wolle I go into England and let her highnes know how I am delt withall by my L. Deputye, and syr Peter Carew." I assure you, syr Peter, dealing for his land, hath made all the lls, and men of liuing, dwelling owt of the inglish pale, think

¹ See note 1, p. 102.

² Sir Oliver Grace. See note 3, p. 237.

ther is a conquest ment to be made of all ther contrese, and I do here that serten foolish letters, written in som fond sort by Mr. Warham Sentleger,¹ or som other, be com to the hands of diucrs hear. How they haue wrytten I know not, but, by God, if hit be as my men tell me, those that haue sarued the quene always, hetherto, faithfully and trwely, ar now in dowtfull termcs; I mean som of great callinge, I omit to name them tyll I do know the troth, for if God send me thether I woll talk with them and put them owt of mistrust, and hope to satisfye them afore they go to extremitese. Suerly these rashe dealings in matters of land, and these ill brwtes of the Quenes Maiestyes death, haue don more harm then many think of; they shold be founde owt and punished to the death that first bruted these newes of her maiesty. Syr, sins

¹ Sir Warham St. Leger, son of William, eldest son of Sir Anthony St. Leger, of Ulcomb, Co. Kent, several times Lord Justice of Ireland, by Agnes, daughter of Hugh Warham, of Croydon, Co. Kent, and niece of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was Deputy Governor of Munster in 1600, and was slain, on the 4th March in that year, in an encounter with Sir Hugh Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, in which both the combatants were killed. Sir Warham St. Leger married Ellis, daughter of — Ruther, a merchant of Kilkenny, and widow, successively, of Henry Davels (see note, p. 75) and Humphrey Mackworth, another Irish Captain, who was killed by the O'Connors. By this Lady Sir Warham left two sons, Anthony and William.

Archdale makes the Sir Warham St. Ledger, who was killed in 1600, the eldest son of Sir Anthony, but this is evidently a mistake. We find among the State Papers mention made of another Sir Warham St. Leger. He writes from Fleet-street, on the 25th May, 1594, to Lord Buckhurst, and complains of the sciatica in his left hip, and sends a paper to be read to her Majesty for the service of Ireland; while the Sir Warham, who was killed in 1600, writes from Cork (November, 1599) to Essex, that Sir George Thornton was sworn of the Council before Old Sir Warham St. Leger, at Skiddies Castle. Old Sir Warham was, without doubt, the eldest son of Sir Anthony, and consequently the uncle of Sir Warham the younger.

these byckerings chawnsed, I hear my brother is in very ill cace, God help him ! for he neuer rests, he slepes littell, and eats very littell. he talkes moche, especially of the quenes death, sayeng if she wear alieue he shold not be thus vsed. My men fear he wolbe slayne, for he dothe somtyme ride, hauing but 3 or 4 with him, toward Syr Peter Caro, and els whear. his men are lothe to send him to any hows of myne, lest my l. deputye shold vse extremitie to him. if he com not of him self I woll caws him to be taken, and I pray you procure her maiesties letter, with spede, to my l. deputy, that I may kepe him at my hows till God restore him to some better order ; but a wiser man then he might be brought besyd him self thus. Pardou my scribled tedious letter, which I now ende, wishing the amendment of all disorders. I woll advertise the sertenty of these and other matters to you hear after, as they shall fall owt. God send you as well to do as I wyssh. from bristoll the 24 July (1569).

Yours assured

THOMAS ORMONDE.

I pray you forget not to move
the Quene that I may haue
some English Soldiers in my
chardge when they go ouer.

[There is a further postscript, of some length, relative to the supply of Wheat and Malt, and a last of powder for his country.]

On the 28th of August, 1569, the Earl of Ormond wrote to Sir William Cecil from Waterford, announcing his arrival at Roslare, in the County of Wexford, on the 14th, and relating the endeavours he had used to see the

Lord Deputy, in which he had been unsuccessful. His Lordship could not spare any men to conduct him through the rebels, but desired Ormond to meet him at Kilmallock, or Limerick. He expresses his desire to see his brethren, but is afraid of doing so without authority, on account of the laws against Captainry, and Coyne, and Livery.¹ He states his intention of setting forth to meet his brethren, and adds the following postscript, enclosing letters from them.

Postscript.

I do send you 2 letters² to be showed to her maiesty and the Cownsell, which my brother sir edmond, and my brother Edwarde, wrote to me; these letters came to me to waterford, by them you may vnderstand how truely my l. deputy (if hit be as I heare) did advertise of them, and how trewe Owen Mores³ speches wear, that he talked of them openly in Court, and other places, and to my great grefe and dishonor; but I hope that my brethern woll prove my l. his masters aduertisments in most things, and his speches, to be vntrue. I do assure you they sent diuers of there men to me prayeng me that I wold let them com vnto me, which I refused, becaws you know I was first wylled to repayr to my l. deputye, and had the quenes letters to be deliuered to hym. I hope, or hit be long, to aduertis better of them then ther accusers wold be glad I shold Before God I nothing dowt there

¹ See note 1, p. ciii.

² For these letters, see pp. 223 and 232.

³ Owen More was descended from a family of that name residing at Beddenden, Co. Kent. He was Muster Master in Ireland, and married the widow of Henry Draycott, Master of the Rolls (see note 2, p. 74), but left no issue.

comming to me, nor ther obediens in performing any thing her Maiesty woll comand them. Yours as before.

THOMAS ORMONDE & Oss.

No. 6^a.

*Roger Hoker to the Lord Chancellor.*¹

Right Honorable. It may please your Honour for the savegarde of hir Ma^{ty} house here at Laughlin, I am constrayned to request some ayde of your honour, for that we doe understand there is arryved at Duolin fyftie Souldiers out of England this last weke past. Yf it shall please your Honour to send them hither with as convenient spede as may be the soner the better. For upon Tewsdaie in the mornyng last, one houre before daie, Peirs Butler, with divers other rebells to the number of thirtie horsmen and twoe hundred Carne, spoiled the whole towne of Lawghlin of all their goodes and cattell to the number of one thousand marks, and burned a lxx houses, killed ix men, and hurt thre or foure, and burned foure younge children. And not being satisfied with this, but doth every daie threaten us to besiege the house, and myndeth to assaulte yt very shortlie. Therefore I humblie request your goode L. to consider of yt, that the enemye may not have that advantage to gette this house from us, for we are very weake to withstand there force. My Lord Deputie lefte, at his goyng from hence towards the west partes, one hundred Carne to garde and kepe the countrie from spoiling, and not any one for

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

the keping of the house¹ but my Mrs. owne housholde servauntes, which are not above xii parsons servisable men, which is a small company for this house. We are scant able to defend one quarter of yt yf we be very feirsлие sette upon. I wolde surelie have written unto my L. Deputie in this behalfe but that the streightes are kepte, for the passing of any messengers with letters, by the rebelles, that either they be hanged, spoiled, and ther letters loked in and torne. Thus goode my L. I humblie beseche your honour to consider of our estate here, and send us your men that are there, and they shall have victualls provided for them that they shall not want. Thus being bolde to troble your honoure with my scribled letter craving your helpe for the Quene's Majesty's better service. And yf your L. doe send these men, as our hope is your L. will, that they be furnyshed with munycion and powder as apperteineth. Thus praieng to Almightye god for the safe retourne of my L. Deputie with all his hoste, and for the encrease of your honour's prosperitie and healthe, with my humble and bounden dewtie. From Laughlin this xth of August, 1569.

Your Honours humble and faithfull

to commaunde, as your dailie Orator,

ROGER HOKER.²

¹ Here Sir Peter kept ready 100 horsemen, besides footmen and 100 kernes, and it was absolutely necessary, for in the expressive language of the annalist, Thaddy Dowling, it was "Diaboli contra Petrum Carew!"

² Although little is known of Roger Hooker, as being the father of Richard Hooker, the eminent divine, his history possesses deep interest for every member of the Church of England. It appears from a pedigree in the possession of some descendants of the family still residing at Exeter,

No. 7.

*Sir Edmund Butler to the Earl of Ormonde.*¹

My vearly good Lord and brother, if I shuld at lardge discourse to youe of all suche spites and iniuries as I haue, from tyme to tyme, receaved, as well by vyell opprobrious speaches, at my L. Deputies handes, in open audience, with threatening woordes touching my life, as also, in extreme bolstering and ayding Sr Peter Carewe againste me, seking, without any order or proces of lawe, vtterly to dispossesse me of my livinge by force, incor-

that Roger Vowell, alias Hoker, or Hooker, his father, was thrice married. By his third wife, Agnes, daughter of John Doble, of Woodbridge, Co. Suffolk, he had issue Anthony, who died *s.p.*, Roger, and John, the author of this narative. Our first notice of Roger will be found on p. 202, where his brother introduces him to Sir Peter Carew. He appears previously to have been in the service of Sir Thomas Chaloner, and then in that of the Lady Mountjoy, probably Ann, daughter of Robert Lord Willoughby, of Broke, and Widow of Charles, fifth Baron Mountjoy. Upon the recommendation there given, Sir Peter, doubtless, took him into his service, and carried him into Ireland, where we find him at the date of this letter.

It is observable that when Richard Hooker performed his pilgrimage of filial piety in walking from Oxford to Exeter, which must have been in the year 1571, the journey is said to have been undertaken to see his *mother*. No mention is made of his father, which is accounted for by the fact that the latter was then in Ireland. We find no other record of Roger Hooker until 1580, when he was instituted to the Deanery of Leighlin. There is nothing to show that he was in Holy Orders, but, in those days, that was not always considered an indispensable qualification for such an office, which perhaps the influence of the Carews, which was great in Ireland, procured for him. It is recorded that whilst he was Dean, together with "Master Wood," one of his chapter, he was carried off as prisoner by Maurice Kavenagh, of the Garquil. Roger Hooker died in 1591. His wife's name was Joan.

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

radginge the said S^r Peter¹ thereto by a great nombre of the quenes army, commanded to assist him therin; beinge oppressed by thies and other ill dealinges, could not but shon his presence, for myn owne saulfeard, till suche tyme as by my letters of complainte, directed at sundry tymes to you to be declared to the quenes Ma^{tie}, I might, by hir gracious commandment, have redresse, (whiche otherwise I was cleane owte of hope to haue). And for shonninge further inconvenience dispatched my letters to your L. craving pasporte at the quenes Ma^{ties} handes to exhibite my grevous complaintes before her heighnes in England, in whom was my onely hope to haue redresse. And beinge, after this, dealte withall by the viscounte balsinglass and Mr. Richard Sheethe of Kilkeny, sent from my Lorde Deputy in comission, to perswade with me to repaire to his L., I offered, vppon my said Lordes proteccion, so to do presently, being desirous bothe to declare my greffes vnto him, and also to sarue the quenes Ma^{tie} with him in Conaghte, or in any other place wheare his L. would command me, (which I then offred to doe) with ^o_{xij} men, at your L. and myn owne chardges, without any intertaynment of hir Ma^{tie}, and therof haue sent my letters to my lorde Deputy, whoe sent me no aunswere, but kept my messenger prisoner in the Castell of Dublin ever sethens. I hoped, in the meane tyme, to haue vnderstand from your L. som parte of hir heighnes pleasure; this proteccion my L. Deputy wold not send me, and when I was advertised therof by the said M^r. Sheethe, I did well

¹ In the State Paper Office is a letter from Sir Peter Carew to Sir William Cecil, dated 27th October, 1569, in which he states that he made no disturbance to any of Sir Edmund Butler's possessions until he was appointed to repress his disorderly proceedings.

vnderstand my lordes good will ; wherof I was warned also by diuers that weare with him. And shonnyng my selfe hereoppon from my L. daunger, I was assaulted by Peter Carewe, accompanied with 300 horse of the quenes Army, appointed to him by my lorde Deputy, at the hill of Kilmokary, where, thinking to haue my selfe, they set vppon som of my L. galleglas, sodenly taken vnarmed, who, like fooles, went into a plaine feld to withstand his chardge ; at whiche tyme he slewe 2 Capitains, with 30 of your men, and aboute fiftie rascall, but alas ! if my fortune had bene to haue bene with the galleglas, I doubt not but peter might haue lost his better eye. I heare he avanted by letters that he had slayne many mo, but your L. may assure your selfe hit is moste vntrewe, and that those weare slayne did the quene, in all hir warres, better service, vnder your leading, then euer peter did ; (who then were slayne of Sir peters side, he dothe well to leave owte). Nowe, perceavinge by thies dealinges how my selfe was sought, I was content, for my more defence, to accepte the company of James fitz moris of Desmond (who sought vppon me firste, before I thought to haue to do with him) to make me the habler to revenge my cause vpon Carewe. So, for to be revenged vppon one enemy, I was content to yoine with another ; but, emonge other enyuries that my L. Deputy hathe done me this is one of the greatest, that he sayeth, and hathe advertised, that I am the chefe maker of these warres in Ireland. In dede, his government had nede of som collor to cloke his doinges, for nowe he makes Peter Carewe's cause the quenes Mat^{tes} quarell. No, no, my L., be I madd, or be I sadd, what so ever they reporte of me, this harte of myne shall never yeld to false my trouthe to the quenes Mat^{tie} and her Crowne. I haue loste to moche

of my blodd in hir service to be a traitor to hir, or to take parte mith any man against hir Deputy in the feld, be he never so muche my foe. I defie James fitz moris to deny that I did not excepte my duty to the quene in all my dealinges with him, and refused to consent to the bringinge in of Spaniardes, and the putting vp of the masse, whiche thinges James was earnest with me for, and before I agreed with him, after I was proclaymed, I had him sworne not to bringe in any Spaniardes, nor desire me, nor any of myn, to vse any other religion then suche as hir Ma^{tie} sett forth; beside this I vtterly refused to go westward to Corke, or to any other way to yoine in battayle with him and the Earle of Clyncarthy againste my lord Deputie, onely for my trouthe and duties sake to her Ma^{tie}, and not for any love I bare S^r henrie Sidney, or peter Carewe; for I protest to God, I could be content to dye to be revenged vppon them, so it were no offence to the quene, nor perill to hir state. Judge your L. if I had not cause by these there dealinges to beleve that whiche was reported of the quenes mates death, and of your beinge put to the twore afterward and there executed, as I herd, and did the rather beleve the same for that I herd not from your honor, and (that not withstanding I had a pasporte for my selfe and my men from the quenes M^{tie}), my men were not suffred to passe to learne the certaintye therof. This dealing semed as straunge to others as to me, seing me thus handled that had alwayes sarved againste rebelles & traitors, being of an auncient house, vnspotted, shuld be over thrown vtterly, without order, by the spite & malice of my afore named accusers. Oh, brother! who can abid the name of a traitor or rebell, or to what end shall I lyve if I may not be revenged vppon suche as haue thus proclaymed me, without other cause then for shonning of

there presence for myn owne saulty? Alas! that the quene knewe howe she is delte withall, and howe hir treasure is consumed among such cormorantes as sarve more to enrichen them selves by hir then for any quiet or good order they devise for the state of the land. I am lefte not worthe a peny in this world, for my house of Cloghregrenan (whiche Carewe toke) I willed to be deliuered to my lorde Deputy (if he did demand hit) and my man, seing a greate numbere of soldiers come abowte my house, askid if my lorde Deputie were there? and the others withoute said he was, and so my man, askinge saulfe conduct to go forthe, & said he wold deliuer hit to my l. Deputy if he wold have hit as I commanded him to doe. And so, vppon promes of saulf conducte, my man wente forthe and was brought to Peter Carewe, and told that if my lorde Deputie had bene there I commanded him to deliuer the Castell, if my lorde did require hit. And my man, seing my lorde was not there, desired to be sent saulfe backe againe, and so he that shuld haue saulf conducted him, did murder him in the dore with a dagger (whiche was thrust into his backe) and after with the losse of some of there men, wan my house, and spoiled me of all the plate, houshold stuff, and evidence I had there, with many other thinges; but Sr Peter neded not myn evydence, seing he dothe wyn land by the swerde. My L. (if the quene allowe of this) who can kepe his living? there was neuer suche government in any land as is in this, my Lorde Deputy, vnderstanding my man wente over to aduertise your L. of myn estate, whereby you might let the quenens highnes vnderstand the same, to thentent hir highnes shuld not prevent his malicious determination, did most spitefully proclaime me traitor the nexte day after my mans departing, and made his proclamacion

to beare date xiiij dayes before hit was proclaimed in the countie of Kilkenny, wheare I was and first hard of the same, that I had but one daie to come in after the proclaiming of me there. Oh brother! suche a proclamacion was never herd of to be against any of my name. It remayneth as a corse vnto my harte. I knowe not whoe ought more earnestly, yea to the death, seke revendge against the doers therof then your L., and for my parte, I thinke any revendge to litle for it, if I may, my duty preserved, requite them for the same. As longe as I had breathe in my bodye I wold not yelde my self into my L. Deputies handes, vnles your L. or some other, were come from the quenes Ma^{tie} (whom God alwayes preserve) to receave and save me from his tiranie; but if your L. sende for me, I meane to come vnto youe, and yeld my selfe and my brethren to the quenes Ma^{ties} will and commandment, so that we be insured to receave no harm by the L. Deputy, from whose iudgment we appeale to hir hieghnes, who, I hope, woll not be leade awaye by the malicious devises and vntrewe reportes of oure enemyes, that haue threatned to sitt on my skirtes, and make my harte stringes ake, whiche I confesse to haue bene done by proclaiming me traitor. The doble dealing, threatning of my life, and other spites that my L. Deputy vsed towardes me, hath given me occasion never to come to his presence, nor to admit him to be my iudge in any of my causes. Althoughe I haue showed as muche curtisie vnto him during this his wilfull Rode with a veary weake company, in restoring vnto him certain of his men that my men chaunced to haue taken, and in staienge my selfe and others from assaultinge him and his army, which we were alwayes able to do, and wold haue done were it not for my dutie is sake to hir Ma^{tie}, whom I praye God, I soner dye then

I see hir take foile or dishonor in this hir Ma^{ties} Realme, which the lorde Deputy daily procurid, if I had not firmly contynued in my trouthe and duty to hir Ma^{tie}. I haue nede of men, lest, vnder collor of peace, I might be betrayed by those that seke my blod and lyving, and to rote oute all hir highnes faithful subiectes, bearing open parte against them with the auncient enemyes of the crowne within this Realme. My Lorde Deputy, also, taketh from me a greate parte of that hir Ma^{tie} bountifully graunted vnto me at my last being in England. I feare this Realme woll never be in quiet while he governith, Sir Peter Carewe being one of the Counsell. I wilbe at all tymes redy to sarve her Ma^{tie} in this, or any other Realme, where it shall please hir highnes to command me, so as I be not dryven to accompany S^r henrie Sidney, having proclaymed me traitor, whiche I will never forgive in my harte. Sins I hard of your L. is arryvall I stayed from doing any hurte, and what was done at Innescorphie was vnknowing to me, in the morning, after your landing, before I had any certaintye of your comyng. Also, sins youre comynge, I have not sene James fitz moris, but refused, vppon sundrie messadges, to go to him; hoping that your L. had som comforte for me from hir Ma^{tie}, in whom is my ouely trust. And for witnes that my quarrell was againste Carewe & others for my lyving, and not of disobedience to the quenens Ma^{tie}, as my Lorde Deputie reportes, I sent them a challendge and craved the combate for me, bothe my brethren, and two of my kinsmen to fight with S^r Peter Carewe, S^r Barnabe fitz patricke,¹ O Karroll,² ffancis Cosby,³ and Gilbert; who

¹ Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, eldest son of Barnard MacGill Patrick, 1st Baron of Upper Ossory, by Margaret, eldest daughter of Piers, Earl of

perswaded my L. Deputy thus to deale with me, and vpon there ale benches betraytor me at there pleasure ; or els I offred my selfe to combate with them all, one after another, before my L. Deputy and the whole Campe, vppon his L. assurance to be indifferent, and so to ende all the quarrell, whereby hir Ma^{ties} service might not be hindred vnder collor of me or my quarrell being made by my L. Deputy other then in dede it is ; but if we be all commanded to serve, it wolbe sene whether those that seke to make me a rebell, or I, doe serve the quene better ;

Ormond. He was in great favour with King Edward VI, to whom he was a frequent companion, and the object of the young King's warmest affection, as is evinced by the many kind letters the latter wrote him whilst he served as a volunteer in France, under Henry II, against the Emperor. These letters were printed by Horace Walpole at the Strawberry-hill press. He served with great bravery against Sir Thomas Wyatt, at the siege of Leith in 1558, and was knighted by Sir Henry Sydney in 1566. He succeeded his father as 2nd Baron of Upper Ossery, and was always faithful to the English Crown, receiving on many occasions the highest commendations for his meritorious services. In 1560, he married Joan, daughter of Sir Rowland Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, by whom he had an only daughter. He died in 1581, and was succeeded by his brother Florence.

² It is presumed that this was Sir William O'Carrol, Lord of Ely. He surrendered his lands to the Queen by indenture dated 8th March, 1576, and received the same back again under letters patent.

³ Francis Cosby was a captain of some repute. On the 10th September, 1558, for the better service of the Crown, he was constituted General of all the kerne retained in pay in Ireland, with a fee of 3*s.* 8*d.* a-day for his better maintenance. In this capacity he assisted at the horrible massacre of many unoffending Irish, at Mullaghmastan, in the year 1577. (*Annals of the Four Masters.*) In the partition made by the Earl of Sussex of the Moores' lands in Leux, he had Stradhalye and other lands given unto him. He was twice married. By his first wife, daughter of Cruyton, he had a son, named Alexander, who, with his son (Francis Cosby), by Dorcas, daughter of Sydney, was murdered by the O'Moores. Arnold, Captain Cosby's eldest son by his second marriage, was executed in England for killing the Lord Burghie. Captain Cosby was slain by the rebels, in Birnes country, in 1580.

but in conclusion, the quene must have warres still, by sum devis, or els others should lacke money. I wolde she knewe all as she may and shall if she liste here ynoughe. And althoughe my Lorde Deputy, as I knowe, dothe advertise that I stand in the field against the quenes Ma^{tie}, I wold not lyve that day that I wold fals my worde or trouth to hir Ma^{tie}, for if she commanded me, by the meanest in her kichen, to repaire into england, or els wheare, at any tyme, God never take me into his mercy if I wold not doe hit with a most willing harte, althoughe my lorde Deputy should proclaime me traitor every day, so I were sure not to be betrayed by my afore named enemyes by the waye; your L. knowes I wrote to you to procure the quenes leave for my goinge over to answeere my L. Deputies informacions, fearing his device, which he hath executed in proclayming me; and I pray God I lyve not a day, when the quenes Ma^{tie} shall, in hir owne conscience, thinke me vntrewe to hir, what so ever myme enemyes advertize of me. I was compelled by the crueltie of my enemyes to transgresse hir Ma^{tes} lawes against my will, for the which I woll most humbly submytt my selfe to her moste gracious mercy, and crave her highnes pardon, where your L. woll appoint me to mete youe, either by your letter, or by any man youe have. I will not faile to come to you, so it be not in any place, where my L. Deputie shalbe present, or wheare he may doe me any hurte; and wishe that vpon my comminge to your L. suche occasion of service might happin, as my truth and forwardnes therin might be tried with the best of myn adversaries. I marvaile but your L. hath written vnto me sethens your aryvale or before, and that youe suffred not my man, Thomas Comerford, to come towardes your L. at your first coming to Waterford, to certifie youe of this my

cruell handlinge, and to know wheare I might come vnto youe my selfe, to declare my greife vnto youe. And this beseching your L. not to credite any senester reporte of me touching my trewe harte to hir Ma^{tie}, whiche am at hir commaundement and as redy to bestowe my life, while I have a drop of blud in my body, in her hieghnes service as any man in the world. Thus wishing to her Ma^{tie} long life, and to all hir trewe subiectes good successe, I leaue. ffrom Crossegreney the xxiiij of August 1569.

Yo^r loving brother

EDMOND BUTLER.

*To the right honorable and
my very good L. and Bro-
ther, the Earle of Ormond
and Oss.*

No. 8.

Edward Butler to the Earl of Ormonde.¹

Ryght honorable my singular good lorde and brother. My moste humble duetie remembred, beinge right gladd of your honors sauf retorne home, which was allmost to slowe. My veray good lorde, altho myn absence sethens your honors landinge is grevous vnto me, yet thocccasion therof is my greater greif, and as great vnto me in manner as the losse of my lyf, which is to be proclaymed as one vntrue to the crowne of Englande, which (the lord knoweth) I never ment, nor never will meane otherwyse then to live & dey in the quenes Mat^{ties} quarell duringe my lyf. As for my service, I am redy at your honors comandement at all tymes, wherby I hope to prove my

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

self a true & faythfull subiect, and truer in harte then myn accusers. My cruell greifes, & wrongefull dealinge, which I have sustayned of late is sore, & to long to be writtin. And where euery man is procured & maynteyned dayly to burne, murther, & spoile all vs which do belonge to your honor, there doynge therin ar hydden & kept close. And we, for lyenge still, comyttinge of no suche offence, ar proclaymed the name they have had, and do dayly deserve to have. Where my brother Edmond & I offered my L. Deputy to serue at his L. appoyntement against any of the quenes Ma^{ties} enemyes with xij hundredth men, vittualled for vj wyckes, or a quarter of a yere, at your honors charges, the messenger whiche my brother Edmond sent was layed op by the helys, & no awnswere had vntill we were proclaymed. Wherefor I moste humbly crave to be brought befor your honor to declare the same more at large, whiche ar in maner vncureable. Thus, leauinge any fether to trouble your honor, I moste humbly take my leave. ffrom Castellanny, the xxvj of August 1569.

Your honors moste humble and obedient
brother to comande duringe lyf

EDWARD BUTLER.

*To the right honorable & my veray
goode L. and Brother, the Earle
of Ormond and Oss., gyue
thies in haste.*

No. 9.

The wordes uttered by Sr Edmond Butler vpon his first meetinge with me the Erle of Ormond, in presence of these whose names are subscribed, as well as we could remember them.¹

The first of September 1569 my brethren, Sr Edmonde, Edwarde, and Piers, being by me sent for, came to me towarde Kilkenny, where the sayd Sr Edmonde prayed me vpon my faith and honor to tell wheather the Queenes Mat^{tie} was in health or no, and tould me that he heard such reportes from hir Mat^{tie} as he could not be quiet in his mynde till he weare certaine how she did. And when I gave him to vnderstand that her Mat^{tie} was (God be thanked) in very good health, he put of his murrion and thanked God of it, and prayed that she might so conytinue in as long and happie a raigne as ever any Kinge or Queene did. And so prayed his two breathren and all their company. After this he made a greevous complainte vnto mee of the cruell and ill vsages of my L. Deputy and Sr Peter Carew, who, (as he sayd) weare not onely contented to spoyle him of all his land and livinge without any order of Lawe, but also did what they could to bereave him of his life, and proclaymed him traitor to the Queenes Mat^{tie}, which greeved him most of all, havinge no cause or good grounde so to doe, savinge onely for that he shonned in come to my Lord Deputies presence, whom he feared vpon diuers threatninge wordes to take away his life and lyvinge without processe of Lawe: which was the cause that he did shonne him, thinkinge that he would detaine him till he had

¹ Lamb. MSS. 611. fol. 95.

surrendred his land to S^r Peter Carewe. And within three or foure dayes after he had him proclaymed traytor, he being thereby amazed, and, having sent his letters to my Lord Deputie to crave his protection to come before him to shew his greefe, and also to be employed in her Ma^{tes} seruice in Connaght or elsewhere soeuer it would please my Lord Deputy to appointe him, my Lord Deputy stayed his messenger prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, and sent him no answere vppon his letters; but, suddenly, sent S^r Peter Carew and Capten Gilbert with 300 horses of the Quenes to seeke him, who sett vppon certaine of his galloglasses and slewe as many of them as they could, being such as haue allwayes served the Queenes Ma^{tie} vnder my leadinge, thinking to haue slaine himselfe if he had bene with them. Theis, and many other, greues and Iniuries he complayned of, and to take god to witnes, and prayed that he mought be dampned, both body & soule, if ever he ment to rebell, or take parte with any in the world against the Queenes Ma^{tie}, or if euer he meant to doe any harme to my L. Deputy. And, for witnes of the same, declared that he tooke not so much as a horse from his Lord in all his Journey, and sent unto his Lord such of his men as chaunced to be taken by somme of the sayd S^r Edmondcs men, but alwayes sought to be revenged vppon S^r Peter Carew, who to this day enioyeth his livinge, if he could haue gotten him out of my Lorde Deputies company. And for such hurts and offences as by occasion of my Lord Deputie and S^r Peter Carew's sayd dealings he was driven to doe and committ to others of the Quenes Ma^{ties} subiectes, he most humbly and lowly submitted himselfe to the Queenes Ma^{tes} mercy, and promised to mee to keepe hir Ma^{tes} peace from hencefourth to call hir subiects, till it shall please her highnes to signifie hir

pleasure how she will him have demeaned, and what soeuer order it shall please hir Ma^{tie} to take for him, he promised, according to his bounden duty, to stand and to accomplishe the same. And if she will haue him to serue in ffrance, or in any other place out of my Lord Deputies danger, he will, with a most faithfull and most willing harte, so doe, and in the meane tyme to serue hir Ma^{tie} withall the power he hath or may haue, to the uttermost of his power, at his owne charges, in any place in Ireland, so he be not driven to come to my Lord Deputies presence, or to serue in his company, which he refused to doe, and promised hereoppon to stay and keepe the peace till I doe lett him to vnderstand of my Lord Deputies pleasure touching this and certaine other requests that he hath to make to his Lord, now at this tyme of my repaire vnto him.

THOMAS ORMONDE OSS.

JOHN FERMYE.¹

CHRYSOTOPHER OSS.²

WALTER ARCHER, Souffrain of Kylkenny.

WILL^m JOHNSON, Dean of Kilkeny. OLYUER GRACE.³

HARE DAVELLS.⁴

R SHEETH.⁵

ROBERT HARPOLL.⁶

EDMUNDE BUTLER.

¹ John Devereux, Dean of Ferns, was appointed Bishop by patent, dated 19th October, 1566, and was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin about the close of that year. He was permitted to hold his Deanery in commendam for five years. He died in 1578, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, in Wexford.

² Christopher Gafney, a Prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was appointed Bishop of Ossery, 1565. The Queen's letter for his consecration bears date 3rd December, 1565; but Ware states that his patent was not passed till 7th May, 1567. He died 3rd August, 1576, and was buried in

the chapel on the north side of the choir of his Cathedral. The inscription on his tombstone is given in Ophelan's Tombs of St. Canice.

³ Sir Oliver Grace, of Ballylinch and Leagan, Co. Kilkenny, and Carney Castle, Co. Tipperary, married Mary, sister of Sir Maurice FitzGerald, created Viscount Decies, 11th Eliz. (1569), and eldest daughter of Sir Gerald FitzGerald, third Lord of Decies, by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Piers Butler, eighth Earl of Ormond. Gerald FitzGerald, first Lord of Decies, was second son of James, seventh Earl of Desmond.

Sir Oliver Grace had considerable possessions in the County of Tipperary and King's County, which former county he was returned to represent in Parliament, on the 12th January, 1st Eliz. (1559). By letters patent, dated 25th September, 5th Eliz. (1563), he was granted all the estates and livings in the Counties of Tipperary, Kilkenny, and King's County, and elsewhere, of the dissolved Priory of St. John, near Nenagh, which his posterity enjoyed until the invasion of Cromwell. The marriage of Sir Oliver Grace with the daughter of Sir Gerald FitzGerald, tradition has characterized as "the happy re-union of ancient blood and friendship," evidently alluding not only to the termination of a savage feud, but to the junction of two kindred branches of the same family after a separation of four and a half centuries, descended from William, and Maurice FitzGerald, the two sons of Walter de Windsor; Oliver Grace being descended from the elder, and Mary FitzGerald from the younger. Sir Oliver Grace was succeeded at Ballylinch, by his son, Gerald Grace, who died 4th March, 16 James I.

⁴ See note 1, p. 75.

⁵ Mr. Richard Sheeth, or Shee, often appears in the State Papers. He seems to have been very much disliked by Walsingham, to propitiate whom he sends a hawk in 1583. On the 4th February, 1584, his offences are pardoned, and he visited England, bearing with him a letter of commendation from Dillon. In the same year he lodged a complaint against Francis Lovel, and again fell into disgrace, and was committed to Dublin Castle, but, upon his submission, was released. In 1589 he received the honour of knighthood from Sir William Fitzwilliam.

⁶ Robert Harpoole, upon the partition of the O'More's lands by the Earl of Sussex, obtained the grant of Blackford and other lands in Leax. He married Grany, daughter of the Clan Simons, a follower of the Kavanaghs of Odrone, by whom he had a son of the same name. Robert Harpoole became Constable of Catherloghe, and his son also held that office. The latter married first Elenor, daughter of Sir Henry Davels, and secondly, the widow of Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls.

No. 10.

The most humble submission of Sir Edmond Butler, Knight, and Peirce Butler, esqr, Bretheren to the right Honor^{ts} the Earle of Ormond and Ossery, made unto the right Ho^{ts} & our very good Lord S^r Henry Sydney, knight of the most noble order of the garter, Lord president of her Ma^{ty} Counsell in Wales, & Lord Deputy generall of Ireland, and to Lords and others of hir Ma^{ty} Counsaile in the same Realme of Irelande, the the last of ffbruary 1569, and in the 12th yeare of hir highnes raigne.

We Edmond Butler, and Peirce Butler, calling to our mindes our most bounden and naturall duty to our gracious soveraigne Lady the Queenes most excellent Ma^{ty}, doe most humble accknowledge and confesse before you, our very good Lord and governoure, and this Honorable table, that we have disloyally swarved and declyned from our allegiaunce to hir highnes, by raising disorderly hir maiesities subiectes against hir highnes peace and lawes, and haue committed, from thentrie into that our disobedience, sundrey offences and treasons deservinge extream punishmentes and sharpe corrections, which our heynous misdemeanour, as neither wee meane, nor indeed can iustifie or defend by any colloure, so wee doe for the same, with most penitent and humble mindes, prostrate before the estate of hir most excellent ma^{ty}, heerto vs represented by the presence of your Lordship hir most worthy governour, humbly, and with all reverence, yeelde and submit, freely and voluntarily, our bodies, goods, lives, & livings to the order & disposition of hir highnes, & of your Lordshipp, our very good Lord and Governoure vnder hir

¹ Lamb. MSS. 611. fol. 162.

matie, beseechinge, with all humility & due reverence, your honour, of your vertueous inclination & good nature, to remitt vnto us all displeasures & indignacions that we, by any meanes, haue mooved your Lordship vnto, aswell for your owne particuler as otherwyse, and although you may iudge our doings to haue bene such as haue not deserued favour nor favourable treaty, yet we doe make our most humble supplicacions that your good Lordship, our worthy Gouvernour, & your our very good Lords, with the rest of hir Maties hoble counsell, will, in respect of this our most humble submission, & for the ancient service and throuth of our house, & also for the continewance of the same, be meane to the Quenes Ma^y that hir highnes, who hath bene ever, to hir Maties immortal fame, inclined to pittie & mercy, incomparably beyonde the Judgment of many, May be pleased to reccaue vs to mercy, & extend vppon vs hir most gracious pardon vpon trust of our assured loyalty henceforth, and wee shall, accordinge to our most humble duty, pray that God doe grant to hir highnes a most happie & prosperous raigne, and put into hir Maiesities minde to grante to vs our lives, that we may, by our dutyfull and most humble service, acquite some deale of our most greceuous offences past.

Ecc^r

E. MOLYNEUX.

No. 11.

*Sir Henry Sydney to Sir Peter Carew.*¹

My good Sr Peter. Your last letters sent, by yonge Dillon, came to my handes before thothers sent by Potter,

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

and now, having them both, I founde by them that, that hath been confirmed vnto me by many and sundrie reportes ; that is, how carefull and friendlie you have been for me in all places where your worde or deede could stande me in stede. The thankes to you be due, and so is my good will reddie to requite your courtesie, though no successe do followe, nether according to your good meaning, nor as the state of the matter doth vehementlie require. And among many discontacons that growe vnto me by remaining here, it is not the least that I am deprived of so good a companion, and so faithfull an assistant as I had of you, seing I see that this somer you shall not come hither. Suerlie, were it not that it is her Ma^{ties} pleasure in respecte of her highnesse service there, I would think that she didd both muche hinder your self therby, and her own service in this country. ffor as that place of Leighlyn is of to great importance to be committed to a deputic Officer, where so manie be inhabitants equall to him self, so, for your owne cause, you shall neuer find any that shall be hable, though he were neuer so willinge, to do for you that that you shoulde do for your selfe. And though M^r Davells be for you as sufficient a man as is to be chosen, (and in dede the best) yet such is the Q^{nes} service there, and now specially vpon your first entrie, as both your advices and helps together is litle yenough to bring it to perfection, And, suerlie, with gret inconvenience, and to his owne losse, do I bear with H Davells absence from his owne chardge of Dungenarvon. And, therefore, if you will follow my advice, neuer yelde that your turne can be served here by any attornie, for you shall, thereby, both prolong your coming, and do your cause no good, but rather lose that you have wonne. And, for myne owne parte, in the service of the

Q^{ne}, I would be loth to comitte that countrey, bordering vpon such daungerouse enemies, but to a man of great accompt, specially in this time, when I meane, with as good severitie as I can, to swepe the house after this general rebellion, having begonne with some of the Birnes, and do follow with the O'mores; Lasagh McKeadowe being alredie executed, and having Caher McKeadow in hand, I do propose, ere manie daies, to send him the same way with the olde ffosteresse the wife of Oliver FitzGarret, And to bear with such a hand upon the hole name of the O'mores as I trust the Q^{nes} Countie shalbe a quiet countrey. The like goodwill have I to generall reformacions, if God woulde send me such assistance as my herte desireth, in which my desire I finde you lack, I assure you, to my grete grief, and, therefore, it shalbe good that you ether ridde your selfe quiet of it, or to followe it as apperteyneth. Thomond matters have gone verie leisurelie on, And yet, suerlie, I finde therle of Ormond of very forward profession, and hath presentlie taken to her Ma^{tie} vse all his castells of importance, so as though he be not altogether subdued, he is of small accompt. Edw. Butler will yelde to no obedience, I think God have ordeined him for a sacrifice for the rest. What honor were it to that house, if therle wolde bring in that brothers hedde with his own handes. That were indede a purging sacrifice, and such an ende of the troubles of this Land as I would think should remaine quiet in our daies; ffor James Fitzmorice, without that faction, is no boddie. And when soever I mought turne with my hole force against Turlough Lynough, I think it an easie enterprise to make an end of those warres. And as bad as it is yet, I feare no thing if the vnquietnesse at home, nor no forraine power do hurt vs. This good Sr Peter

you see I can not shortlie ende to talke with you by this meanes of writing, seing I can no otherwise; and whilst you be absent, kepe your promise to write vnto me often, and follow the good causes of this land as oportunity will serve you. You nede not feare to be contented (sic) importance, seing it is not your owne cause, but the good service of the Q^{ues} Matie, and your Comon weale. And thus, having informed you of our speciall matters herein, I will leave you this time in thandes of God, with my hertie commendacons, both to your self and my good Ladie your wife, wishing you quietnesse and hertes desire. ffrom Dublyn the xxvij of Maie 1570.

Your verie assured ffrend,

H SYDNEY.

My good Sr Peter, I think myself
not a lyttell bound to you for
for your honorable speches vsed
of me. Well, yourys I am.

Superscribed.

*To my verie assured friend
Sr Peter Carew, Knight,
leave this at M^r—*

to be trustilie sent to him.

No. 12.

*The Petitions and Offers of Sir Peter Carew, Knight, touching his Landes and Titles In Ireland, to the Lls of the Queenes Majesties privie Counsell. in An^o 1571.*¹

fforasmuch as he hath lately recovered the Barrony of Hidrone, the same remaying yet vnbounded and vnleased, so as he receaueth small proffit for all his chardges sustayned, he humbly desireth that it may please the Queenes Ma^{tie} to lycence him with favour to goe into Ireland to bringe his Landes to perfection.

And whereas the execucion of Coyne and Liuery taken by the Irishrie is for the grieffe thereof thought meet to be abolished, and also the cesse of Souldiors, and other cesses (when payment is not made for it) is no less grieuous then the other, and breedeth more dislykeing, for that the one is taken by the Englishe and the other by the Irishe; And he maketh humble petition for the quietnes of his tenaunts, that it may pleasè hir highnes to graunt him the freedome of his said Landes. And he doth offer to her Ma^{tie} and successors in lewe thereof to beare yearely out of the sayd Barrony one hundred markes rent, which, as it shall be much more quieter, both to Lord and tenaunt in this case, so, if the like proportion were borne out of euery Barrony of Ireland, would amount to such a some as would well neere discharge the burden of the English Garrison remaying there.

And if it shall not like her Ma^{tie} to graunt the same, he humbly desireth that it may be rated indifferently, and in certainty, what cesse shalbe yealded and borne for his said Barrony and Country, the same being accounted to be the fiveth parte of the County of Catherlowe, that so

¹ Lamb. MSS. 606, fol. 97.

rated not to be taken, levied, or exacted, by the Souldiors there, but by him selfe and his heires, or by his or their Officers, and the payment and satisfaccion for the same to be made at such tyme and tymes as when the Prince maketh payment there.

And wheare, heitherto, he hath neither taken possession nor otherwise prosecuted by lawe for that Lande, that is called the Dulloughe, that was in the possession of S^r Edmonde Butler, knight, being parcell of the said Barrony, and as he claymeth of his antient inheritance, for somuch as the same is presently in hir Ma^{ties} hands, he maketh humble petition that his title may be viewed and examined by hir Ma^{ties} Learned Counsell, so as it may be determined according to right, with hir Ma^{tes} good contentacion.

And whereas he pretendeth claime to diuers other parcells of Land within the Realme of Ireland, He humbly desireth that he may proceed therein, to the Recouery thereof according to the lawes & orders there vsed.

And where, through longe discontinuance out of possession, it may be thought that the claim thereof may breed vnquietnes & great disturbance within that Realme, Hec offereth vnto the Queenes Ma^{ty} that vpon the quiettest meanes that may be deuised for the view of the titles on both sides, Hec will abide the order of such Arbitrators (in all such claymes as he maketh) as shall be thought reasonable and to her Ma^{tes} best likeinge.

These Petitions and Offers being, as he hopeth, in your Llps: opinions agreeable to reason, lawe, and conscincce, Hec trusteth and right humbly desireth, that you will be meanes to the Queenes Highnes that the same may be favourably granted, or otherwise He to be ordered and considered.

No. 13.

*Sir Edmund Butler to Sr William Fitzwilliams, Lord
Deputy of Ireland.*

My dewtie premised vnto your honorable L. yt maie please the same to be advertized that on soundaie last past, being the ijth of July,¹ Sr Peter Carew hath slaine a greate nombre of my men, I know not whi nor wherefore he hathe made the same slaughter, in so much that any he tooke he did not as mucche as save their lyves, the Turke coulede not shew more extremitie; thus shewing your L. the nobilitie of the Realme, and Counsell, howe I am dealt with all, having my men killed which were readie to serve the Quene the xvth of July, according to the tyme appointed to the iorney. I have written two lres to your lo. the nobilitie of the Realme, & Counsell: I haue nether answer, nether can see those comming backe sent on message. I humblie beseche your lo. the nobilitie of the Realme, and Counsell, to let my messengers come backe with answere, least my Chaplain Sr Nicholas Commerford, although your Lo. the nobilitie, and Counsell, will not send me answère, I take God to witnes I am as true to the Quenes Ma^{tie} as any subiect, and am sorry that I am forced to seeke revenge of the murder of my men, whiche, with out any iuste cause, are killed by Sr Peter Carew, whose auncestors, although they haue bene inheritors (as he saieth) fyue hundred yeres agone, and that he will haue my land vnder colour of an Order which he hathe of your Lo. the Deputie, lo. Chauncellor, & Counsell, which I wolde let hym haue, yf by the lawe

¹ Lamb. MSS. 605, fol. 22.

This letter is recorded as of the year 1571 or 1572, but would seem to be mis-dated and mis-addressed. I fancy it should be the year 1569.

cede by Ordre of lawe for the recoueringe of certaine landes whereunto he makith clayme as lawefully heire to certaine his anncestors in that oure Realme of Ireland, although we haue not hitherto thought it conuenient to graunt him his sute so fully as his request was, in consideracion of the troublesome state there, yet we haue nowe condescended to his suite thus farr, That the said Sr Peter Caro shall cause declaration to be made vnto you and to suche other of oure Counsell, beinge learned in oure lawes, as you shall thincke meete, of all the titles and Interest that he pretendith to those said landes, and that therevpon as you, with the aduise of the others ioyned with you, shall fynde apparaunce of his title in Justice, so shall you, as to yo^r discretion shall seeme meete, cause the same tytles to be discouered vnto the persons who haue the possession of the same landes, or to as many of them as from tyme to tyme shalbe thought also conuenient, and thereupon, also, to moue them by all the best persuasions that you can deuise and shall thincke agreable to Justice, to yeld to the said Sr Peter Caros titles, which, yf they shall refuse, and shall alledge matter on their parte to the contrary, Then we woulde that their reasons and allegations, if they be grounded vppon lawe, or colour of lawe, shalbe duellie examyned and wayed with the said Sir Peter Caros titles and demande by suche of our learned Counsell and others there as may seeme to you to be indifferent, and thereupon, if the title of the said Sr Peter shall, not with standinge the allegations of the contrary parte, seeme worthy of favour in Justice, Then the said parties may be, estsoones, moovid by like good persuasions to be content to come to some reasonable composition and agreement with the said Sr Peter, so as the tryall of Lawe may be avoyded, w^{ch} if ye cannot also bringe them to like

of Then you may, for the tyme, forbear and aduertise vs of their aunswers to the said Sr Peter Caros clayme, and yo^r opynyons with all What ye shall thinke furder meete to be don in that case. Gyuen vnder o^r Signet at our Mannor of Grenwich, the third day of May 1572, the xiiijth yeare of our Raigne.

*To o^r right trustie and wel-
beloved Sr Wylyam ffitz-
wylyams, Knight, our Deputie
in oure Realme of Irelande.*

(Copia vera concordans cum Originali examinata per
Phe-Williams Scretariu Dñi Deputati.)

No. 15.

John Hooker to Sir Peter Carew.¹

S^r, to end the course of my former lres bearing date of these presentes, and sent by M^r Calveley servaunte to the L. Depute. Your tenantes do verely refuse to tak any estate at all other then at your owne handes, partely because the more desirouse they ar of your comynge the more they doubtte thereof; partely because they ar enformed that you do mynde & intende to sell or conveighe the same to some one of the Erles of this Land, which, if you shold so do, then, bysides the rentes which you compounded, they shall stande at suche devotion as which they do curse the tyme to thinck vpon: Agayne some do formerly perswade theym that you mynd not to come at

¹ Lamb. MSS. 605, fol. 38.

all but have sent me for a colour & shadowe, which they partly credytinge do determyn to saue that they haue, & kepe it as well as they can, but, assuredly, if you mynde to come over your selff you shalbe assured to sett the same at suche rate, pryce, & rent as you will your selff: for so they may have you to be their defender, and to be free from suche governors as whom they do feare to offend, they care not how farre they do strayne theyme selfes. Surely there was never man more desyred & wished for then your selff, not onely among theyme, but, generally, of all others within this Lande. To travell, therefore, herein it is but lost labor, for, as I have saide, onely you, & you alone, must be the doer thereof. The rentes past, order is taken for the receyving thereof, after such rate as by your former was sett, which is at V^{lb} Englyshe the marte, and they to staunde to suche cesses as benne layed vpon them; but they do denye that, & clayme a promyse from you, which wilbe the more trouble & daungeros to be gathered savinge that M^r Davells hath warented me in the matter. Of lx martes of your lande thone halff lyeth waste, & yn suche handes as no rent yet to be receved thereof, nor will not be oneles you be yn place your selff: the some dew for the ij past yeres amounteth to about iij^c lx^b, which I doubt, by meanes of so long delayes, and of their doubting of your comyng, will hardely be obteyned from theyme.

Your tytle to Monster I have drawn vp in order, & have sent you a copie thereof, which I thincke it good you sholde conferre with your best learned counsell thereyn, and, vnder their handes, returne the same vnto me with as miche expedicion as you may, for, I trust, it will passe the better. I have reteyned lerned councellers to the number of vj of the best which I can geyte, to whom I

have paid their fees, and doubt nothing of a good success; how be it M^r Synnot, lying yn Wexford & fearinge to come hether, I have no helpe of him, but must trust all to my self. The setting of your land sett aparte, I doubt not but when the terme is begonne to complaye all the rest of your doinges.

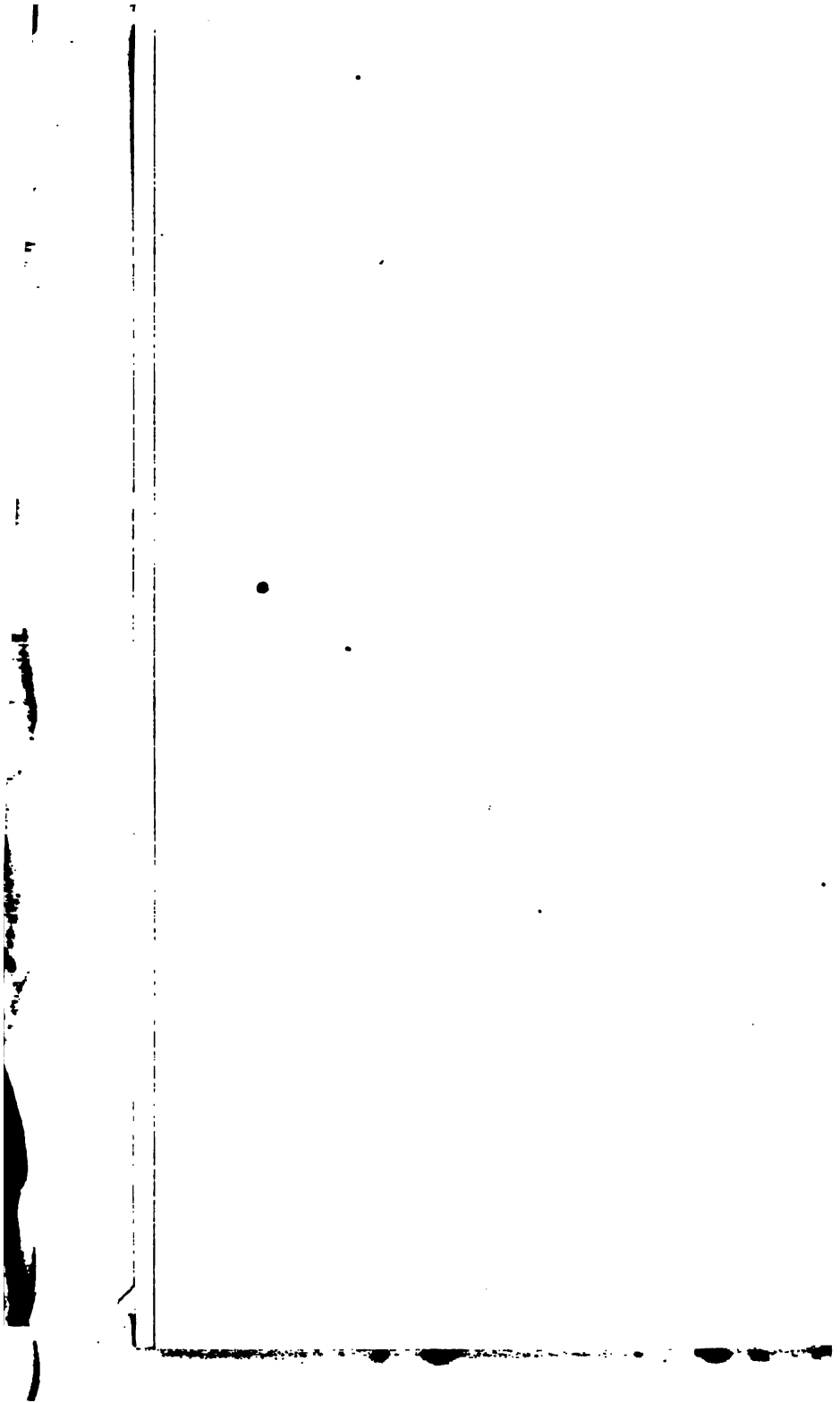
I have obteyned the graunt of Thomas Courte, and of M^r Thomas fytzsymons house vpon the key, for you, as also am offred M^r Pyfoldes house at S^t Mary Abbey; but this troblesome & daungerous world stayeth me therein, as also for making any other provisyon vntyll I hire from you. I do thinck, these thinges donne, to returne home, oneles I do hire from you to the contrary. This mornyng I receved lres from my La. by M^r fytzwilliams, but have no leasure to aunswere the same, the tyde & wynde calling the passengers away.

If you do mynde to save that you have purchased, & to kepe that you have gotten, you must determine to come over your self, which shall not turne onely to your gayne, but to the comoditie of all your countrie, who most earnestly wish for the same. And so far lack of further leasure, I tak my leave. ffrom Dublyn the xxiiijth of October 1572.

Yo^r wo^r most assured

Jo. HOKER.

*To the right worshipfull S^r
Peter Carew, Knight, lying
at the great S^r Bartholo-
mews yn London, geve these
with spede.*





No. 16.

*John Hooker to Sir Peter Carew.*¹

Right worshipful Sir, Your lres dated of olde the 18th of October, came to my handes the daye of these presentes. The slacke comynge of thyme cannot be imputed but onely to the wickednes of the tyme: ffor my La. ffytzwilliams, lettynge shypping a good wynde, staid so longe at the holy hedd for passage that she arryved not to Dublyn vntill christmas eve last, and, I, then, having attended my Lo. Deputie yn his iourney throughe Leynster, staid at Leighlyn yn his returne. I have, in my former lres, from tyme to tyme, so advertised you of the state & successe of your causes as I thincke the same to be allmost a full awnswere to these your lres, nevertheles, of everie partyculer matter I do now renewe vnto you this advertysment: ffirst the mearing of your barony is concluded; for the comission² is returned, the certyficatt

¹ Lamb. MSS. 606, fol. 24.

² At a meeting of the Privy Council, held at Greenwich, on the 20th March, 1570, a letter was ordered to be sent to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, "to address out commission vnto such honest and skilfull persones as he shall thincke convenient for that purpose, to view, survey, and bound out the lymittes of the Barronye of Odrone, and upon returne of their doinges therein to cause the same to be entered of recorde, to thintent it may, hereafter, remaine as a testimonie what shall at this time by aue ben founde or donne in this matter." P.C. Register.

This order does not, however, appear to have been carried into effect for some time, for we find that a commission was issued under the great seal for this purpose on the 25th September, 1572, a return to which was made on the 11th of October following, and the result duly enrolled in the Court of Chaucery. (Lamb. MSS. 606, fol. 77-78.)

The extent of the Barony is shewn on the annexed map, which is a fac-

inrolled, and exemplied vnder the broade seale, and which now remayneth yn my custodie: the copie whereof, as I remember, I sent vnto you, durstinge not to adventure the original for doubt of some myschaunces.

simile of one preserved among the Lambeth MSS., to which is appended the following account of the boundaries of the Barony.

The meares and boundes of the Barony of Odrone within the Co. of Catherlogh.

The Barony of Odrone begynning west from Leighlinbridge out Aghery na slade, and so alonge the little streame Clacahegary en punsell w^{ch} cometh, as it were, from the west northwest from gary punsell to the ford before said. And from Garry punsell alonge the saide streame to Barre ne manny, to Sleate Oman westward vnto the seate of Moyleglasse, and from Moyleglasse to Ballylackaghe, and from Ballylackaghe ther runneth a brooke, or lytle streame, northward, called Kyllenengill, w^{ch} meareth betwixt the Duloghe and Ydughe vnto Bally refeadinge from Killenengill northward, and from Bally refeadinge the streame Killenengill stretcheth vnto the forde of Henry Keugh, and from thence vpon the mountayne northwardes to the forde of Vlaskye ne goare, leaninge Dyrry mountayne on the lefte hand as you will go directly from the foarde of blynde Henry vnto the said waters of goates, and from thence runneth Eastwardes the same waters of goates vntill it entereth into the streame, or brooke, of fynishoge, and from that place where fynishog and the water of goates issueth the ffynishoge meareth vnto the ryuer of the Barrow, and from thence the Ryuer of Barrow meareth vnto Catherloghe, and at Catherloghe the streame or Ryuer of Burrin meareth and inuyroneth Odrone eastwardes and easte Southeaste throughout and by the whole vntil you come vnto the very place wherout the Burryn springeth, w^{ch} is called Stirrcally, and from the springe or head of Burryn, w^{ch} springeth vnder the heade of Stowloyne, vnto Mannesowderye, and from Mannesowderye to a Bogge called Askaghe ne Monigan, and from Askaghe ne Monigan to a small brooke w^{ch} runneth vnto the forde of Cantes, otherwise called Aghe ne Cartaghe, and from aghe ne Cartaghe to a lytle brooke, or streame, Kynykere, and from thence vnto Manny en Mayster, and from thence vnto the forde of ffynoghe, and from that forde ther stretcheth a ditche called Askagh ne lay, and from thence to the falle of the Whyte house, called Silloge en Aghegill, and from thence to the wood called the fastenes of the boare, or Dengin na Kelly, and from the woode to Donell mones

Your cesse is apoynted by my Lo. Deputie & counsell to be concluded this terme, whom I will followe therein according to your advertysementes & instructions, who, I mystrust not, but will consider your request.

The note which you sent is written yn a booke of thexchequer, which cannot now be founde, but I have founde the lyke yn a nother booke there, serving the turne verie well, and as for any notes collected by the late M^r John Thomas, there can none be founde at all: and,

orell, and from Donell mones Orell through the middle of the blacke bogge vntill you come to Stroghan gloraghe, w^{ch} runneth westward into the Barrowe, and so the ryver of Barrow meareth vnto the forde of Rowse, and there is, as it were, a ditche w^{ch} meareth between the Byshoppes landes and the landes of Odrone, extendinge from Pell ne farnoghe vnto and betwixt Corane Mc Craghe and Cranoge, and from thence the said ditche is stretching to Loghe Pease, or Poole of Wormes, and from thence the saide ditche dothe extende vnto and betwixt Lestinan begg, w^{ch} is of Odrone, & Lestinan more, w^{ch} is of the Byshoppes landes, and from thence the said ditche reacheth vnto and betwixt Killrocke and Killrowse, and from thence the saide ditche is extended vnto the Yuye water, otherwyse called Rahin en yuan, and from thence the said ditche doth reache vnto Agh moan beg, w^{ch} yssueth into the Barrow, and from Agh moan begg the Ryver of Barrowe meareth vnto the lands of Leighlin bridge, on which is the foord, or slade, of Agheryneslade, afore saide, wher the meares is prescrybed to begyne.

Memorandum by vertue of a Commission graunted vnder the greate seale of Ireland, bearinge date 25 Septemb: an^o Regin. Elizabeth 14. S^r William ffitzwilliams then beinge Lorde Deputie, directed vnto ffrancys Cosby esquier, Anthony Colchloghe esquier, Henry Davells esquier, Robert Harepoole, John Barry, Richard Gouse, Richard Woode, and Mathue Lynt, gentlemen. This authortie was geuen to the aforementioned gentlemen, or to any 7. 6. 5. 4 or 3 of them, to perambulate and meare the Barony of Odrone, who, accordingly, calling vnto them the beste, moste aged, & wysest gentlemen of the Inhabitants of the said Barony for their assistants, who were deposed and sworne vpon the holly Euangelestes to declare the whole truth of their knowledge touchinge the premyases. After perambulation & surveigh made by ffrances Cosby, Henry Davells esquiers, and Richard Woode & Mathue Lynt gentlemen, in the name of themselves and the rest, did

therefor, I must trust to that I haue. ffor sendinge over of a lerned man, it was the advise of the Lo. Deputie, but I

retourne ther reporte vnto the Lorde Deputie and Councell, the substance wherof is aboue mencioned, beinge extracted out of the Recordes in Dublyn bearinge date the xjth of October, in the xiii^jth yere of the Raigne of Quene Elizabeth.

The Gentlemens names of the Inhabitants that were the wearers of the Barony of Odrone above saide.

Brian M^c Donoghe, Ballilaghan, Cauanaghe.
 Denby Cauanaghe, Deane of Leighlin.
 Moriortoghe oge, of Ballylowe, Cauanaghe.
 Donell Reaghe, of Ballytegle, Cauan.
 Edmond M^c Donoghe, of Killahanclone, Cauan.
 Art ne ynche, of Ballymoane, Cauan.
 Cahir M^c Genold, of Ballysilloghe, Cauan.
 Tyrloghe Duff M^c Gerald, of Ratheden, Cauan.
 Monoghe M^c Cahir, of Killmalapoge, Obirne.
 Patrick M^c ffirm, of the Olde Towne, Obirne.
 Colloghe M^c ffirm, of the Orchard, Obirne.
 Mortoghe M^c ffirm, of Killgreny, Obirne.
 Malaghlin M^c Tegg oge, of Ballynekillme, Obirne.
 William Tallon, of the Aghe.
 Gerald M^c Shane oge, of Moyle, Obirne.
 Gerald M^c Shane, of Rathenegerye.
 Patricke M^c Edmond, of Ballingowne, Obirne.
 Tirloghe Roe M^c Dany, of Ballingowne, Obirne.
 Donoghe Odoran, of Rathaskand.
 Donell Tomyn, of Tontanell.
 Shane Tomyne, of Ballyhughe.
 James Tomyne, of Ballyknockane.

The Barony, exclusive of the portions withheld by Sir Edmund Butler and others, is shown to contain 53 martes of land, a marte being somewhat greater in extent than a ploughland which contained 120 acres.

Upon the death of Sir Peter Carew, the Barony of Odrone descended to his cousin, Sir Peter Carew the younger, eldest son of Dr. George Carew. The younger Sir Peter was slain in the recesses of Glenmalure in 1580, when

hope the mater will so fall out as you shall not need thereof. It is agreed that a comission shalbe sent to the Lo. president & others of Monster for enquire to be made accordinge to her Mat^{tes} lres: and beinge at Waterfford with the Lo. Deputie now before Christmas, and there fyndinge the Lo. president, I dyd dysclose vnto hym your whole case, the same to hym not alltogether vnknownen, who gave me very good wordes, & seemethe to

the Barony devolved upon his brother, Sir George, who, being distinguished in Ireland, was afterwards created Baron Carew and Earl of Totnes. Sir George sold it in 1585 to Dudley Bagenal, second son of Sir Nicholas Bagenal of Greene Castle, in the County of Downe, Marshal of Ireland. In the year 1587 Bagenal met his death in the following tragical circumstances, as stated in a letter from Henry Sheffield to Lord Burleigh. It appears that Bagenal, after he had bought the Barony, was not contented to let the Kavanaghs continue in possession of certain lands which they had been permitted to enjoy under the Carews, and consequently an ill-feeling was engendered. About the last of November, 1586, Henry Hern, son of Sir Nicholas Hern, and brother-in-law of Bagenal, having lost four cows, with twenty men proceeded to the house of Mortough Oge, chief of the Kavanaghs, who was at this time upwards of seventy years old. They entered the house with their swords drawn, which the old man seeing, attempted to effect his escape, but was taken and brought before Mr. Hern, who laid to his charge that one of his sons had taken away the cows. Mortough Oge fairly promised to pay for the cattle if this could be proved, and appealed to the Sessions, but this would not satisfy his accusers, who barbarously put him to death. This led to a deadly feud. In the following spring Mortough's two sons, Mortough and Donagh Caroghe, assembled their followers, with a determination of avenging their father's death, and on the 21st May, 1587, with twenty men, they attacked a place in Odrone, called Ballymoiva, which they plundered, and then returned, with the expectation of being followed by Bagenal, in anticipation of which they had set an ambush of forty men to intercept him. Nor were they disappointed. Mr. Bagenal pursuing, fell into the trap, and with thirteen others was slain. He was found to have received sixteen wounds above the girdle, one of his legs was cut off, and his tongue was drawn out of his mouth and slit. Dudley Bagenal married a daughter of Nangle, Baron of Navan, by whom he left an infant son and heir.

tender your cause verie miche. I gave a booke to M^r Myaghe, late recorder of Corke, but now her highnes attorney of Monster,¹ who, when tyme shall serve, will do his best endeavours for the furtheraunce thereof; but this the opinion & censure of the Lo. Deputie, Lo. president,² & all others of iudgement is, that the matter is so weightie, & toochethe so neere the inheritaunce of all the noblemen of that province, that rather than they will yelde to any thinge which shalbe to their preiudice, they will all flyng out & become (as many of theyme ar) rebels; the recoverie & suppression wilbe such a chargeable matter to her Ma^{tie} as it were better for her to geve xxm^l than any suche thinge sholde so fall out: wherefor the goodnes of your tytle conferred with these extremities, will, as I hope, breede some good thinge vnto you.

Your countrie staundethe quiet & is in good stay: M^r Davells therefor beinge verie miche to (be) comended, who hathe faythfully & frendly acquitted hym self towardes you. I have ended the controversie betwene Mortoghe og of the Garquell³ & hym, and they now become good ffrendes, and sithens that M^r Davells hathe reconciled all the septes of your Cavenaughes, and hath made them all

¹ John Myagh, Recorder of Cork, writes to St. Leger as to rebellion in those parts, on 16th July, 1569.

² Sir John Perrott.

³ Mortough or Moriortagh Oge Kavanagh, of the Garquill, was the chief of his name. He received a grant of arms of Nicholas Narbon, dated 12th October, 1582, which was, quarterly: 1st, gu., a lion rampant, ar., armed and langued, az.; 2nd vert, a cross flory between six crosses, crosslets fitchée, or.; 3rd ar., three vipers 2 and 1 vert.; 4th az., three garbes 2 and 1, or. (Lamb. MSS. 635, fol. 41). For an account of his death—see note 1, p. 255. The chief house of this Moriortaghe was the Castle of Rathnygerry, in Odrone, but he and his issue dwelled at the Garquil adjoining to it.

ffrendes. Also an attonement hathe benne & is made betwene M^r. Davells & Harpoole, so that all is at quietnes here, and a good agrement here emonge all men. What lres my La. hathe written to M^r Davells I knowe not, but I do see & knowe howe evell he taketh it that my La. sholde either dyscourtuosly or vnkyndly conceve of hym. He imputeth it cheffly to your servaunt Thomas Jakeson, whom if I could have founde, or perswaded to have benne, as conformable as I have founde thother, this brable, also, had benne ended; and thoughe he cannot denye his folye, yet he so staundeth vpon his owne opinion & hym self so miche, as that I cannot prevayle with him as I thought I sholde. Suche is the nature of this countrie, and so farethe it with younge menne when they ar farre from theire masters, and caried with women: for a greater accompt is made of thone here then of thother ells where. The smerte & chardge yn the meane tyme is yours, which I cannot ease as you apoynted, & as I wolde, by reason of this folye.

As for balls debt, it appeareth he hathe paied the same for the acquittall of your debt, & redeeminge of your plate, whereof M^r Edmund Tremayne¹ being privie he can advertyse you thereof. Your debt, as it shall appear to be dew to Thomas fytzsimons, I will satysfie; but I do mervell why you dyd not send me the some which you delyvered to his sone, or his byll thereof, for by your lres it seemeth you dyd so meane to do.

I have conferred with M^r Chivers, but to no availe for want of instructions from you what was your dew debt,

¹ One of the sons of Thomas Tremayne, of Collacomb, Co. Devon. He married Ulalia, daughter of Sir John St. Leger. He was one of the Clerks of the Queen's Privy Council. See No. 28; also note 3, p. 204.

and what you have received thereof. I have good wordes of hym, but the matter procedeth no further then therein.

When I did writ vnto you of Thomas fytzsimons,¹ I dyd, also, then, or sithens, the lyke of Thomas Courte house, as also sent a lre to you for the younge brabeston from my La. his mother, and vntil I do hire of your resolucion thereyn, and your assured comynge,⁴ I will not deale any further for a house.

All the lres which I do write vnto you I do direct vnto you at your house of bartholomew, where I feare & doubt you will contynew more three monethes then you apoynted, but if you do not come hether, and loke to the full perfectinge of your owne doinges, you must be assured to receve suche frentes as yn my former lres I have at large advertysed vnto you. I am not that great Athlas which can carie the heavens vpon my sholders, nor yet bringe that to passe which is aboue my reache & powere, and, therefor you must pardone me therein.

The hawke² which I sent for to the Lo. president I

¹ Thomas Fitzsimons, a merchant and alderman of Dublin. In 1566 he offers to build the town of Haggard, of which he held a lease, on condition of having it in fee farm, which was granted, as well as a garden plot in Dublin, by the Queen's letter of 16th January, 1566-7 (State Paper Office. Dom. Cor).

² Irish hawks and Irish hounds were at this time highly esteemed by the English nobility. As early as 1480, a heavy tax was levied upon their exportation. In 1568 Queen Elizabeth addressed a letter to Sir Henry Sydney, stating that in the second year of her reign she did grant to her cousin Fernando de Castro, Marquis of Saria in Spain, two goshawks and four grey-hounds, to be delivered by the Lord Deputy of Ireland every year, for which letters patent were passed, "and because," continues the Queen, "we consider that sometime without foresight and care had, the said hawks specially can not be in rediness at times convenient, we think it were well done both

coulede not receve, and, at my beinge with him at Waterford, he declared vnto me the myschaunse which happened to the same hawke, but at my goinge thither I will do my best to provide and procure one for you. This niche for awnswer to your lres.

I have the custodie of the Dulloche, and M^r Davells & I do mynde to remove one *Turloghe Mc gyll patricke*¹ from the same, who is servaunt to my Lo. of Ormond, & placed there by John Rawe. I have earnestly moved you that the same being now yn the Quenes hands, you do seeke by way of peticion lybertie to recover it by lawe, or otherwise to have it before any disposicion be thereof made; which if it shold so be it wolde turne you to a worse turne.

I have dealt with M^r Harepool for the Cloghney² which he holdeth, & claymeth your promyse therein made before S^r Humfrey Gilbert & M^r Wingfelde; the one of theyme, beinge here, affirmethe that you, vpon his sub-

for that and funder pleasuring of us, persons dwelling in the parts where the said hawks are to be had, might be enjoyned or enduced by some good meanes yerely to yeld unto us as it were, by way of some service or rent, such number of hawks as might conveniently be had. The devise whereof we remit to your discretion." Accordingly, we find that by indenture, dated 27th November, 27th Elizabeth, Hugh reogh O'Reilley, of Loghuony, was bound, among other services, to pay yearly to the Queen and her heirs and successors, "one sound gosshawke," and similar engagements were entered into, by indenture, dated the following day, by Phillip O'Reilley, and Edmond O'Reilley, whilst Cormock Mc Dermot, of the County of Cork, and the heirs of Sir Cormock Mc Tegge, were to pay yearly for the lands which they held of her Majesty "a cast of hawkes" to the Lord Deputy for the time being. (Lamb. MSS. 635, fols. 81-82.) An interesting note on this subject is given by Wright in his "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i., p. 89.

¹ Obirne.

² The Cloghney, held by Harepool, was parcel of the Barony of Odrone, and contained about two martes of land.

mission, wold & were contented he sholde styll holde it as they sholde order it, and that you wold, at their request, mak his lease no worse but rather better. They bothe do, by the next, mynde to write vnto you thereof, and I, in the meane tyme, will forbear prayenge you of your advertysement and pleasure.

Your suete agaynst the Tallauntes,¹ as I have advertysed vnto you, is removed from the Castle chaumber: and, as I remember, I sent you bothe the peticion & the awnswere. I wolde, gladly, quietly haue compounded with theym, but they, staunding yn the trust of their cause, & relyng theym selfes vpon some which ar yn authoritie, will yelde to nothings; thinckinge to haue their purpose: but if they haue no better proff then I do yet knowe of, and do prevaile, as I hope I shall, agaynst theyme, be they assured I will kepe promyse with theyme for myn owne parte; and small shalbe the curtesey which I will shew theyme; and so haue I, yn playne termes, protested vnto theym, trusting that you, of your wisdom, will consider of theyme accordinge to their desertes.

I do forthwith departe from hense towards Dublin vnto the terme, where I hope I shold shortly fynde & have the returne of John Dodd, whom, of late, I sent vnto you

¹ The Tallons, on the coming of Sir Peter Carew into Ireland, occupied certain lands in the Barony of Odrone, and upon his recovery of that barony in due course of law, steps were taken to obtain possession of the same. Some members of the family readily submitted, and took their lands of Sir Peter at the same yearly rents as other tenants paid, but Robert Tallon, on 15th November, 1570, exhibited a complaint in the Star Chamber, that he had been wrongfully dispossessed by Sir Peter of a certain town called the Nourney, and claimed redress. In consequence of Sir Peter's absence in England, it came not on for hearing until 1572, when the cause was transferred to the Council Board. Long proceedings ensued, which continued until the 21st May, 1574, when a final hearing was appointed.

for suche thinges as yn the folowinge of your causes to effect I may not want, & therefor I prayd you to have regarde therevnto.

Your repaire & cominge hyther is dayly loked for, which is not more longed for of the countrie as it wilbe bothe profytable to the same & beneficiall to your self, which, if you do not accordingly tender and consider, the blame must needes rest vpon your self, as well as the losse & detryment.

The state of this countrie, vpon a sodeyne, is turned to a quietnes, partely because a rumour is spredd of a garryson of ijm men apoynted to come over, but cheffly because the aple is not yet ripe, nether do matters fall so out as they dyd verilie thincke it wolde. It were good that her Ma^{tie} had some care of it whiles tyme servethe. The Quenes Countie of Leax, Kyldare, & the confynes of the Englyshe pale, is most in troble. Bryan M^c Kayre¹ is pardoned, wherein, for this furtheraunce, I was a suetor. Great blame is layed & imputed, to M^r White, & sharp wordes passed from the Lo. Depute vnto hym. If he be so faultie as he is chardged the more is the folye.

You shall do well to recomende your lres of thankes to the Lo. Depute for his care yn your causes, & to M^r Davells for his good & trustie dealinge towardes you, who is the onely stay of your countrie, & cause of that which you do here enioye. He dealethe & entreateth well both me & all yours, havinge no lesse care of vs then of his owne. I am miche bounden vnto him for the same.

¹ Bryan, son of Cahir, son of Arte, son of Dermot Lavderg Kavanagh. Cahir, his father, was created a Baron of Parliament for the term of his life only, in Henry VIIIth's time. (Lamb. MSS. 635, fol. 152.) Brian died in 1578. In 1600 Mortough, his son, was living under protection, but his sept was in rebellion.

Your rentes ar yet yn recevinge, and suche is the hard state here emong theym, partely by meanes of great impositions, & partely for wante of money, as the collection thereof is bothe troublesome & with greate paynes bothe to the receivor & payer. And thus for these presentes havinge to troble you, do, with my dutefull comendacions, most humbly take my leave. ffrom Leighlyn the xxth of Januarie 1572.

Yo^r wo^r most assuredly at commaudemnt

Jo. VOWELL, als HOKER.

No. 17.

*The L. Deputie and Chancelor of Ireland vnto the L. President of Munster.*¹

After our vearie hartie commendacions to your good L. I the Deputie received the lres, whereof this is y^e Copie inclosed, written by her Matie in the behalf of Sr Peter Carew, Knight, and althoughe, as by the said copie may appear vnto your L., she hathe not hitherto thought it convenient to graunte him his suite so fully as his request was, in consideracion of the troublesome state of that Province, yet she condiscended to his suite so farre as that he shoulde cause declaracion to be made vnto me the said L. Deputie, and suche other of the Counsell learned in the lawes as I shoulde thinke meete, of all the titles and interest that he pretendith to certaine landes in that province. And, thereupon, as we should fynde

¹ Lamb. MSS. 605, fol. 34.

apparaunce of his title in Justice, so we should, as to our discretion should seeme meete, cause the same titles to be discouered vnto the persons who haue the possession of the same landes, or to as many of them as from tyme to tyme should be thought, also, convenient, & thereupon to proceede as by the said copie may more at lardge appeare vnto your L. In sorte as is prescribed Sir Peter hath caused declaracion to be made vnto vs so as we resolued of the apparaunce of the iustice of his title, But hauing bethought vs of the salfest manner of the discouerie thereof, and of our proceedinges accordinge to the direction of her Ma^{tie} Ires aforesaid, we, so consideringe the Jelouse nature of the Irisherie, and the vnaptnes of this sturring tyme for the preferringe of suche titles, that we may through ignoraunce erre in firste point, beinge of great consequence, which is the apte choise of those that are firste to be delte with all, whereupon (vsing the conference of the gentleman this bearer, M^r Hoker the follower of that and other S^r Peters causes, who muche furdured our determinacion, tellinge vs that he already delte with your L. in the matter, and founde you well faouored to that which we mente to moue you to) we resolued that the matter might better, and with lesse suspition, for the avoydinge of a daungerous inconuenience be furthered by your L. discreet dealinge there with some of them whom you thought fittest to be firste delte with all, pickinge oute your best occasions and tymes, rather then if we, vnskilfull of thone and lackinge the companye of thother, should, as for that onelie purpose, either send for them hither or send commissioners thither. Your L. is wise, and both havinge the copie of her Ma^{tes} Ires to direct you, and also knowinge by the state of that Province howe the tyme may serue you, either softly to

feele, or fullie to handle, this matter, withoute daunger to increase the sturres that be, or to raise any, we leane your L. withoute further direccion to your owne good discrecion. The bearers conference we thinke your L. may saffie vse, for that how well soeuer he wissheth to the cause, yet we take him to be so discrete and dutifull that he would haue no more haste therein then may stand with the good speed & quiet of the state. And so with our most hartie commendacions we take your good L. to God. ffrom the Castell at Dublyn the xxvjth of februarie 1572.

Yo^r good L. vearie louinge friendes,

ROBERT WESTON, CANC. W. FITZWYLLYAMS.

L. P. of Mounnster.

No. 18.

*A Letter from John Hooker to Sir Peter Carew about his
affayres in Ireland.¹*

S^r, I have bene at Leighlyn onwarde yn my iourney towards Corke, but, vpon occasion, & for avoydinge of certeyne inconvenyences I was enforced to returne with some speede, for so it is that M^r Colkloughe² being former of Tynterne Abbey, maketh clayme to the baronye of S^t Molyne, or Symolyn, and hath procured a comission for the possession therof: which the Cavanaghes there

¹ Lambeth MSS. 605, fol. 208.

² The noble edifice of Tintern Abbey was situated on the River Bannow, at the bottom of Bannow bay, in the county of Wexford, three miles from

clayming to be their inheritance, fyndinge theyme selves to be greved therewith, & not mynding to leave the same, were yn a great towardnes of a present rebellyon, if bryan McKayre¹ had not benne, who, forthwith, repaired to me and to M^r Davells, for our advyse therein. And I, perceiving the great myscheff towardes, whereof a parte wolde alighted vpon you, bysides the vtter spoylinge of me, because your Cavenanghes, beinge desirouse and having a will to recover theyme self to their old wanted lybertie, wolde hapely haue ioyned with theym yn this case, because they, also, shold do the lyke for theyme; I came forthwith hether, and discovered the same in such

Duncannon fort. William, Earl of Pembroke, being in great peril at sea made a vow to found an abbey at the place where he should land. This was at Tintern, where he established a fraternity of Cistercians, which he brought from Tintern Abbey, in Monmouthshire, to whom he granted many parcels of land, and extensive liberties and privileges. The house was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The founder died in 1219, and King John confirmed his will.

In 31 Henry VIII, John Power, then Abbot, surrendered this house into the King's hands. In 1566 we find it in the possession of Anthony Colcloghe, under a lease from the Crown, at a rent of £26 4s. Irish. That gentleman was then a suitor to the Queen for the fee from rent, which she refused to grant, but consented to give him a further lease for thirty-one years, after the expiration of that he then held, on condition that he should fortify the house. On the 20th April, 1568, however, his request was granted, and this house, with its extensive and valuable appurtenances, passed into his hands.

It appears from a letter in the State Paper Office, dated 2nd June, 1574, that Anthony Colcloghe visited England about that time respecting the parcel of land called St. Molyn's, mentioned in the text.

Anthony Colcloghe was descended from a Shropshire family of that name. He received the honour of knighthood from the Lord Justices on 7th September, 1582, and, having married a lady of Staffordshire, called Agard, he left issue Thomas Colcloughe, who also was knighted by Sir William Fitzwilliams in 1592. Sir Thomas married a daughter of Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and left issue.

¹ Kavanagh. See note 1, p. 261.

order to the Lo. Deputie as the same is prevented, and a present remedye devised.

Your baronie is in quiet staye, but yet as a sorte of bussynge flees, they are bussyng abroade, muttering that you will never come emonge theym, and surely, forasmiche as the report of John Dodd is rather doubtfull then resolute, it is the more certeynly credited and they out of all hope thereof, which if it sholde so be your state wilbe in perell, & your inheritaunce yn hasarde. And now they waxe so indurated as oneles you do come yn deede, we shalbe hable to do no good at all: wherefor you have to sett a syde delays and to speede your self hether yn dewe tyme.

The release of your cesse cannot take effect & be put yn execution without your presence, suche hath benne, & styll is, their mysery, that complaynyng they durst not to complayne: and by your authoritie & presence the same ys onely to be resolved.

If your evidence be not brought hether yn dew tyme & agaynst the next terme, you must impute it to your owne folyc, that through your slacknes will not for any callynges or writinges attende, & be carefull to dyspatche & sende away suche evydences as ar for the proff & defense of your tyle herein. I can do no more for my part than I have donne. I have so often written to you herein that I am both werye and ashamed thereof. The state of Monnster is growen to quietnes, James Fitzmorys & the seneschall¹ being come yn with protection, and haveinge playnly, symply, and without condicion, yelded theym selfs & craved pardon.² They do accuse the Earl of Clan-

¹ Of Imokelly, see note 1, page 103.

² This ceremony took place in the ruined church of Kilmallock. The rebels entered the church among a multitude of people, and there James Fitzmorice, the seneschal, and others of the confederacy, kneeling on both

cartye, and Sr Edmund butler, to be their authors and causors of their rebellyon. The rest of Ereland is as

knees, with their hands joined and cast upwards, and with countenances "bewraying their great sorrow and fervent repentance for their former life." James of Desmond acted as spokesman, first in English, and then in Irish. He said that in the eleventh year of Her Majesty's reign, he had been led, partly by his own error and want of knowledge of his duty and partly by associating with the Earl of Clancarthy and Sir Edmund Butler, into a rebellion with those chiefs against the Queen, adding, "When too late, I understood how far I had waded in dialoyalty; that I, with the rest, was in the cities and towns of the land proclaimed traitor; I sought to avoid the realm, and being, by good keeping of the ports, debarred of passage, was so void of friends as, when the rest were received into mercy, I could not at that time have any who, either for my good or stinting of evil, would be mean for me unto Her Majesty or the governors of the realm. But rather as a destitute person left to maintain the quarrels of the rest, and desperate and hopeless of all favour, I have devilishly followed my own wickedness, and being in heart full of anguish and sorrow for the mischief that I heaped upon mischief, could never have bewrayed the same, or receive the favour to be but once heard, until this present time. And now, therefore, with the eyes of my heart sore weeping, and bewailing my most devilish life past, I acknowledge myself to have most wickedly rebelled against God, and most undutifully against my prince, and most unnaturally against my country; the hearsay whereof in particular were needless in this audience to make known, which are witnesses of them all, and which (woe worth the chance!) have and might condemned me as the rankest traitor alive."

During this confession, the Lord-President stood before him, holding his naked sword with the point towards Fitzmaurice's heart. When he had finished the words just recited, the rebel chief humbly delivered up his own sword, and continued: "This sword that I wear (which by God's appointment should be used in the service of my prince, or in my lawful defence; and not otherwise), I yield as abused from its proper course, unto Her Majesty, and do bereave myself from the use thereof, until it shall please Her Majesty for my further trial to commit unto me any piece of service, wherein I vow as much faith and earnestness as any man can have. Her Majesty's sword I cannot but acknowledge hath wearied and overcome me, and unto the same I humbly and willingly do yield, and under the same I vow to fight all the residue of my life, if it may please your Lordship to

heretofore, who, as they are most desyrouse to weede and root out all the English nacon from emonge theyme, so they do thinck verie evell to be governed under their Irishe Lordes, whose government they doubt wilbe suche as to (be) heavie to theyme, and which they will not beare. As for my parte, yelding my self to the sound opinion of the most prudent, honorable, and wyse counsellors, will leave them to their opynions which ar of the myndes that the Englysh government ones dyssolved and taken awaye her Ma^{tie} is not lyke longe to have miche a doo yn this Lande, and as it is thought the same is the marck which is shott vnto. Your tytles of Mounster is not vnknown among them there, who, for the most have geven over their owne tytles, and taken their lyvnges of the prince, and dayly do the lyke. And now presently

draw your sword, that I may kiss the same as a token of Her Majesty's sword; and also to be a mean unto her highness to vouchsafe to accept me as her most miserable vassal."

Having kissed the Lord-President's sword, Fitzmaurice lastly threw himself prostrate upon the ground, exclaiming, "And now this earth of Kilmallock, which town I have most traitorously sacked and burnt, I kiss, and on the same I lie prostrate, overfraught with sorrow upon this present view of my most mischievous part. And so right honourable, as my most dread sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty hath throughout the world most amply spread her glory for mercy, so, prostrate here, I beseech your good lordships to be a mean unto her highness, rather to have an eye unto that mercy which hath made her most honourable, than to her justice, wherewith I confess I have deserved a thousand times to be destroyed."

Such was the abject, and at the same time most insincere submission of James Fitzmaurice, who was no sooner released by the leniency of the Government from the perilous position which he had just occupied, than he entered into negotiations with foreign powers, and threw himself into those desperate courses, which ended in his own destruction. —Wright's Ireland, vol. i., pp. 436, 437.

fynon Odristo¹ is come hether to Dublyn for the same purpose, and mynding very shortly to come over vnto you. They thincke by these meanes to avoyde you, wherefore you may take advyse.

And so with my comendacions I take my leave. ffrom Dublyn the vijth of March 1572.

Yo^r most assuredly

JO. VOWELL, ALS HOKER.

*To the Right worshipfull S^r
Peter Carew, Knight, at
the greate S^r Bartholo-
mewes yn London, geve
these wth speed.*

No. 19.

The Lord-Deputy and Council of Ireland to the Queen.²

May it please your moast Excellent Matie. By your letters of the iijrd May, 1572, concerncing S^r Peter Caros

¹ Fynon O'Driscoll, third son of Connogher O'Driscoll, by Joan, daughter to Connogher O'Mahon. O'Driscoll's country was situated in Carbery, County Cork, and was called Collymore. It bore chief rent to McCartie Reoghe, who, by delivering a rod, appointed him who should be O'Driscoll, for so the lord of the country was called. After the death of Sir Fynon O'Driscoll's father, the two sons of Fynon More O'Driscoll, his elder brother, were in controversy with Sir Fynon for the lordship. The rod was given to Sir Fynon by McCartie Reoghe, but the half of the land was ordered to his two kinsmen. Sir Fynon ultimately managed to get possession from them, and surrendered his lands to the Queen, receiving the same back again by letters patent, so that his country might descend to his sons, and not to Tainstry, after the Irish manner. Sir Fynon married first a daughter of Teg boy O'Crawley, whom he repudiated, and then married a daughter of Sir Owen McCartie Reoghe. His lands were claimed by Sir Peter Carew.—See Appendix H, No. 21.

² State Paper Office. Irish Correspondence.

claime to certen landes in Munster, which we receaved the xxth September following, we are directed (S^r Peter causing declaracon to be made vnto vs of all titles and interest that he pretendith to those landes) that as we should threvvpon fynd apparraunce of his title in justice: so we shoulde as to our discretion shoulde seeme meete, cause the same titles to be discovered to the persons who have the possession of the same landes, or as manie of them as from tyme to tyme shoulde be thought convenient. And therevpon, also, to move them by all the best perswasione that we coulde devise and shoulde thincke agreable to justice, to yelde to the sayde S^r Peter Caros titles, which if they shoulde refuse, and should allege matter yn their partes to the contrary, that then their reasons and allegacons, if they shoulde be grounded vppon lawe or color of lawe, shoulde be duelic examined and wayed with the saide S^r Peter Caros titles and demandes by suche of your Ma^{tes} lerned counsell and otheres here as might seeme to vs to be indifferent, and that, therevpon, if the title of the sayde S^r Peter shoulde, notwithstanding the allegacons of the contrarie parte, seeme worthie of favor in Justice, then the saide parties shoulde, eftsones, be moved by lyke good perswasions to be content to come to some reasonable composition and agreement with the saide S^r Peter so as the tryall of lawe might be avoyded, which if we coulde not also bring them to lyke, then we might for the tyme forbear, and advertise your Ma^{tie} of their answeres to the said S^r Peter Caros claime, and our opinione with all what we shoulde thincke further meete to be don in that case.

ffrom the tyme of the receipt of your Ma^{tes} letters vntill februarie followeing (James Fitzmorice rebellion continucing in force) we sawe no tyme to look towardes

this cause, more then that suche as haue the followeing of Sr Peters causes there have caused declaracion to be made vnto vs of the titles in sort as shall appere vnto your Ma^{tie} by the copie thereof sent herewith, examplified vndre your Ma^{tes} seale of this Exchquier. The rebellion being appeased, we fell into consideracion of the first parte of your direction for the discoverie of the title. The maner of doing therof being left to our discrecion, we thought we could not vse fitter instrument then your Ma^{tes} President of that Province, who, having had the whole managing therof, coule best pyke owte both tymes, occasions, and persons to deale with for the furtheraunce of this cause. Wherevpon we wrot vnto him our letters in sort as shall appere vnto you by the copie thereof inclosed. Howe vnapte he iudgith those people to be tempered with in these cases that savor of lawe, and howe jelose he thinckes they will all growe by touching of anie one that is in case they all be in, and what, therefore, his opinion is, shall appere to your Ma^{tie} by the copie of his letters in answer of owres, sent herewith also; wherein well doth he argue from the lesse to the more, what is vearie lyke to growe of this mocion that touchith somanie, mencioned in a note herein closed, and of them the more numbred nuelie reclaimed to have a feeling of duetie and obedience. Sithe, therefore, it is no salf meddling with the first direction of your Ma^{tes} letters for the discoverie of the title to this people that accompt possession and one or two descents suche a right as is not to be called in question, we must, of consequence, leave all the other directions vnmeddled withall. ffor the last parte of your Ma^{tes} letters, willing vs to advertise our opinions what we shall thincke further mete to be don in this case. Which way ells soever Sr Peter is to be contented we humblie leave to your

Ma^{tie} gracious consideracion, but surely this matter is this way no further to be dealt withall without present and apparaunt perill of sturre, which would not be appeased but with so great a chardge as we wolde not wisse your Ma^{tie} shoulde enter into for anie privat mans title or interest: though we think the same might prove to be of some value if it might have the due course of lawe.

ffor reformation of the cesse of Odron, we have taken ordre, and caused the same to be examplified vndre your Ma^{tes} great seal of this your Realm. And so beseching God long and happelic to bless and preserve your godlie raigne, we do most humblie and duetifullie ende. ffrom your Ma^{tes} Castle at Dublin the xth of June 1573.

Your Ma^{tes} moast faithfulle subjectes, and moste humblie bounden Servautes,

ADAM DUBLIN, *custos sigilli*.¹ H. MIDEN.²
 N. WHITE.³ JO: PLUNKET.⁴ LUCAS DILLON.⁵
 ROBT. DYLLON.⁶
 FRANCES AGARDE.⁷ JOHN CHALONER.⁸

¹ Adam Loftus, second son of Edward Loftus of Swineshead, County York, was educated at Cambridge, where at a public disputation he attracted the attention of Queen Elizabeth, who promised him speedy preferment. He was soon afterwards sent into Ireland as chaplain to the Earl of Sussex, Lord-Lieutenant, and on the 8th of October, 1561, presented to the rectory of Painstown, diocese of Meath, and in the same month appointed Archbishop of Armagh, to which he was consecrated in the following year, being then 28 years old. In January, 1564, he was granted the deanery of St. Patrick's, to hold *in commendam*, and in 1567 was translated to the see of Dublin, having a short time before taken the degree of D.D. In March, 1573, he was made Keeper of the Great Seal, and on the 22nd June, 1578, constituted Lord Chancellor, which high office he held until his death. He was four times one of the Chief Governors of Ireland: viz., 1582, 1585, 1597, and 1599, and having greatly distinguished himself by opposing a project for dissolving the cathedral of St. Patrick's, and still more, by his zealous exertions in favour of the foundation of the University of Dublin

No. 20.

Copy

*Sir John Perrot, Lord President of Munster, to the Lord-Deputy and Council.*¹

Maie it please your L. that your letters, with others of the Counsell there, written the xxvjth of februarye last I receaued the xvth of this monithe by Mr Hooker, Sr Peter Carowes man, together with the copie of her Ma^{tes} letter

he was by charter appointed the First Provost of that institution, which office he resigned in 1594. He died, worn out with age, on 5th April, 1605, having been an archbishop 42 years, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral. He married Jane, eldest daughter of Adam Purdon, of Largan Race, County Louth, and by her had issue twenty children. From his grandsons are descended the noble families of Ely and Lisburn.

² Hugh Brady, Bishop of Meath (Midensis) appointed, by patent dated 21st October, 1563. Harris is mistaken in his assertion that he had been Archdeacon of Meath. Sir Henry Sydney, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, calls him "the honest, zealous, and learned Bishop of Meath, a godly minister for the gospel, and a good servant to your Highness." He died the 13th February, 1585, and was buried in the parish church of his native place, Dunboyne.

³ See note 2, p. 210.

⁴ See note 3, p. 80.

⁵ Sir Luke Dillon, of Newtown and Moymet, County Meath, eldest son of Sir Robert Dillon (see note 3, p. 80) by Genet, youngest daughter of Edward Barnewell, of Crickstown. He was not only eminent in the profession of the law, but was distinguished for his experience both in military and civil affairs, insomuch that Sir Henry Sydney consulted him on all matters of consequence, and found him so faithful and trusty that he used to call him *meus fidelis Lucas*. In 1567 he was Attorney-General, and in 1572 was constituted Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and one of the Privy Council. He married Jane, daughter of James Bath, of Athcarne and Drumconragh, Esq., Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by whom he had seven sons and five daughters. He married secondly ———, daughter

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Correspondence.

directed vnto your L. touching the titles which the same Sr Peter hath vnto certen landes in this prouince. And as the handeling of that matter is by her Ma^{tie} onelie referred vnto your L. good consyderacion, so for my parte, I must desyer you to pardon me from dealing in a cause of suche importaunce, except that anie whome your L. will sende for touching the premisses do refuse to appeare, then vpon your Lp. commaundement, I will apprehende and send him vnto you accordingly. But yet, my L., as one that wissheth well vnto your Lp. government and to the state, I am to put you in remembraunce what sturres grewe vpon the like occasion offered in the late L. Deputie Sr Henry Sydney's tyme (yea, by suche a one as was cyvilly brought vp, having great frindes and other meanes to tye hym vnto obedience) when that tytle was had in question, the flame of which fire coulde never be quenched vntill within these xiiij dayes. What shoulde I resite vnto your L. what hazard the state was brought vnto by the same, when the said Sr Henry had for euery soldier your L. hathe iij, or to declare what chardge her Ma^{tie} was put vnto by reason thereof, sithens the same is extaunt with your L., and yet (as before) there was at that tyme dealing but with one, being a civill man, wheare nowe most of the wildest and strongest in Mounster should be

and heir of Shirley, and widow of Sir Christopher Barnewell, and died 1596.

* See note 3, p. 80.

⁷ Francis Agard, appointed Constable of Fernes for 21 years, in Queen Mary's time. Commissioner to reside in Munster during the absence of Ormond and Desmond, 1565. A Privy Councillor, 1566. The O'Tooles and O'Byrnes put under his charge 1567.

⁸ John Chaloner, Secretary of State, which office he resigned on 29th July, 1580, and died soon afterwards.

touched therewith; being men that have bin without lawe, and neuer obedient vnto the same before this tyme; who tasting suche sower medcynes at the first maie, hap- pelly, trouble your L. and loathe justice from hence for- warde. My L. to begin to feele anie one! they are not so sencelesse, but they will ymediately iudge thereby that in thende they all shalbe touched. And suerlie suche is there opinion, that if there be one discent caste vpon them they thincke their title good what right soeuer anie other man haue to the contrarie: I consydre, also, with what difficultie, what trouble of bodie and mynde, what hazarde of credit, and what wantes I have susteined in the seruice paste to bringe this state to the quiet it is nowe at: and then, that if I shoulde by entermedling in this matter (which is referred to your Lp. iudgement) cause anie alteracion of the same quiet here established, (I trust) not onely for the tyme present, but also for the tyme to come: I might be compared to the cowe, that yeelding store of milke, ouerthrowethe the same with her heele. On the other syde seeing that your L. with the reste are resolved in thapparencie of the justnesse of his title, yt greveth me at the vearie harte that anie stoppe should be whereby he might not inioye his owne. The cause whence the weakenesse of the government of this state proceedeth, I am not ignoraunte in, but I will not medle therewith at this tyme. Wherefore, to conclude, my opinion is, that it were much better her Ma^{tie} should take his title into her highnes handes, gyving him some peece of lande in England, or otherwise to considre of him, then by medling therewith (as tyme nowe serueth) to urge the alteracion which maie thereon growe. And weying that all Irelande enioyeth not throughe quiet, and that neither betwene vs and Spaine, nor ffrance (as

I take it) is perfecte amitie, I would wishe this matter to proceede no farther tyll tyme might more aptlie serve. Thus referring the same againe vnto your L. and other the Counsell there to be consydered of, I committ your Lorde-ship to the tuission of the Almightye. ffrom Lymerick the xixth of Marche 1572.

No. 21.

*The Parcells of Landes within the province of Corke, which S^r Peter Carew maketh clayme vnto.*¹

	Imokylley, wherin standeth the Castell of Corkebege of Ocastell-corch, which fitz Edmonds, called y ^e Seneschall, vz slought knight redying holdeth.	<i>fitzgerald</i>
20 horsemen, 400 footmen.	Tryebarry barough, which barry more holdeth.	<i>Barry</i>
20 horsemen, 400 footmen.	Musgraves Country, which S ^r Gorman teige, knight, holdeth.	<i>McCarty</i>
4 horsemen, 40 footmen.	Kynally, which is barry Oges Country.	
	Frey Coursey, which the Lo: Courseie holdeth.	<i>Coursey</i>
2 horsemen, 40 footmen.	Kynalbeke, which Omahon of Careby holdeth.	<i>Omahon</i>
20 horsemen, 200 footmen.	Carbrye, which Mc Arty Roye holdeth.	<i>McCarty reoghe</i>
2 horsemen, 40 footmen.	Collymore; Collybegg; Odriscolmore and Odrisco: Oge holdeth.	<i>Odriscoll</i>
	Ivaghe, which Omahun-a-necreholdeth	<i>Omahon</i>
60 footmen.	Synnagh, O doue-no-sane.	<i>Odonevan</i>
	Rynno. Wryvter bary, which the Dallyes being Riners do hold.	

¹ Lambeth MSS. 606, fol. 53.

200 footmen. Bentry, Osolifant beare.	}	<i>Osolevan</i>
Beare, which he also houldeth.		
24 footmen. Clandenorro.	}	<i>McArty Mores Country.</i>
24 footmen. Clannorogh, which McKynnys do		
hould.		
200 footmen. Cleighe boyghe, which Osolyfant more ¹ holdeth.	}	<i>Osolevan</i>
300 footmen. Iveraghe, which Mc Cartie more, Earle of Ciancre, holdeth.		
		<i>McCartie more</i>
300 footmen. Kerry, wherin is Castell Magno, the Earl of Desmond's.		<i>Fitzgerald</i>
300 footmen. Clanne Morys, which the Lo. fitz morys holdeth.		<i>Fitzmorice</i>
60 footmen. Raght Knoghtnore, which Oconnor of Okyrry holdeth.		<i>Oconnor Kerry</i>
300 footmen. McConoghes Countrie, which is Dohalleys.		<i>McDonoyhe Cartie</i>
Coshe Breode, which the Earl of Desmond holdeth.		<i>FitzGerald</i>

No. 22.

*The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to the Privy Council.*²

It may please your good Llps. According to your Letters of the xxijnd of ffeb^r. 1572, and ordre of the xxjst of same, conceavid in wryting, therewith sent, for reformation of the abuses in the cesses of Odron vpon the

¹ O'Sullivan More, alias O'Sullivan Few.

² State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

complaint of Sr Peter Carr. Knight. one of the same. we have considered of the matter and finding it to be the same, and notwithstanding that the same with some alterations seeming to be convenient should be put in execution, we have caused a counsell decree thereof to be made and entered into our Counsell booke, and, at the suite of the sayd Sr Peter's Solicitor, exemplified the same with her Ma^{tie} great seale of mine her Beames, whereby the sayd Sr Peter may have our sealings therein appere to your Llps. at his pleasure.

Her Ma^{tie}, in the behalf of the sayde Sr Peter, hath by other her letters of the 27th of May 1572 directed vs: That as your declaracon caused by the sayde Sr Peter to be made vnto vs of the titles and interest that he pleadithe to certain landes in Monester we should fynde the apperance of the justice of the same titles; So we should, as to our discretions should seeme meete, deale for the discoverie thereof to those that had those landes in possession, and so further proceede as by our letter to her Ma^{tie} (wherewith we doubt not you shalbe empated) shall appere vnto you. Declaracon hathe accordingly bin made vnto vs of the sayde titles, as by the exemplification thereof vndre this her Ma^{tie} Exchequier seale we doubt not shall appere vnto you. Howe we have delt therypon with the L. President of that province, howe daungerous a matter we fynd it to entre unto, much more to proceede in, shall also appere vnto you by our sayde letters vnto her Ma^{tie}, and the copie therein closed of the sayde L. presidentes letters vnto vs. Humblie, therefore, we are to pray your Llps. to be a mean that suche way may be taken therein to content or stay Sr Peter, that for feare of remiuing further sturres here, those titles be no further remiued. And so leauing the same to your Llps. graue

consideracions we do moast humbly ende. ffrom her
Ma^{tes} Castle at Dublin the xth of June 1573.

Your good Llps. humblie ever to commaunde

W. FITZWILLIAM.

ADAM DUBLIN, custos sigilli. H. MIDEN.
JO: PLUNKETT. LUCAS DILLON. N. WHITE.
ROBT. DYLLON. FRANCIS AGARDE. JOHN CHALONER.

No. 23.

*Sir Peter Carews humble sutes vnto my Lordes of the
pryvy counsell touchinge Odrone, Leyghlyn, his title to
Landes in Mounster.¹*

ffirst—if it shall not bee her Ma^{tes} pleasure to suffre
me to goe into Irelande agayne for setlyng of my thinges
there, being lefte very rawe at my departure thens, That
it may please your honores, on my behalf, most humbly
to move hir highnes to graunte hir favorable lres vnto the
Lorde Deputie there, to requyre hym that my attorney
maye have favorable hearing for my causes concerning
the Baronye of hydrone and all other landes depending
vpon that title within the countie of Catherloghe, and to
execute all thinges there on my behalf, as amplye as
thoughe my self were present.

Secondarily—Whereas I receaved into my handes the
Quenes Ma^{tes} Castle of Leghlyn, and have discharged hir
highnes for keaping of the same by the space of one yere

¹ Lamb MSS. 605, fol. 45.

and three quarters, whiche before coste hir Ma^{tie} one thousand markes by the yere: my humble sute is, that it maye please hir highnes, to graunte me either the fee symple of the saide Castle and landes thereunto belonging, being of the value of xlvi^s viij^d, by the yere, or els to take it into hir owne handes agayne, and so haue consideration of my greate charges susteyned for defence of the saide Castle and countree adioyning, whiche cost me in the tyme of this rebellion, three thousand poundes. And yet I doo contynue at that chardge hir Ma^{tie} was at before for keaping of the saide Castle, having lefte a sufficient garde there for defence thereof.

Thirdly—for that hir highnes is not pleased I shall deale with my title in Monstere, because it toucheth dyvers noble men:—my humble sute is to have hir highnes lres vnto the L. Deputie, to aauthorize hym, or the L. President of Monster in his absence, or som suche other as the L. Deputie shall appoynte, to see and vnderstand my title, and then to deale with the saide noble-men, declaring vnto them what interest I have to their landes, and to bringe them to that good conformitie they can, and so relacion to be made thereof vnto hir highnes accordingly:—whereby her Ma^{tie} maye take suche ordre therein betweene vs, as shall seame vnto hir highnes reasonable.

ffourthly—yf it shall be hir Ma^{tie} pleasure that I shall have the fee symple of the house of Leghlyn and the landes therevnto belonging, as is aforesaide, that then, in consideration of my chardges in keapiug the saide house, suche landes as I have recovered, or shall hereafter recover, within the Baronye of Hydrone, maye bec free from Sesse of all other soldiours, then those I shall be dryven to keape there; and, otherwise, if it shall please

hir highnes to take the saide house of Leghlyn into hir owne chardge agayne, I do offre to maynetene tenne Englishe horsemen, to be alwayes attendant upon suche one as shalbe appointed Cap^{ten} there. So as my landes aforesaide, may bee free from Sesse of all other soldiours.

yf every Baronye in Irelande wolde make the like offre vnto hir highnes and performe it, hir Mat^{tie} should have litle neede to chardge this lande for service there hereafter.

No. 24.

*Sr Peter Carew to the L. Deputy.*¹

Maye it please your good L. It hathe byn reaported vnto me that the Quenes Mat^{tes} pleasure is, I shall not retorne into Ireland for the farther following of my causes there, whiche (if it should so bee) wolde bee my vtter vndoing, ffor syns the first tyme of the attemptyng of my title in that land, which in following of it there and in sute here it hath cost me sixe thousand poundes at the least; and having recovered the Baronye of Odron by good order, yet, notwithstanding, thoccupiers thereof will not compoude with any deputies I shall send thither, or take any leases of them, but onely of myself, and in that sorte they have offered to agree with me for any rent to be chardged vpon them, so as my repayre thither wolde greatlye avayle to my proffite & commoditie, and, on the contrary parte, my staye here to my losse and vtter vndoing. I fear me, those vntrue reaportes that were made of me vnto her highnes for being thoccasion of the

¹ Lamb. MSS. 605, fol. 42.

first rebellion when I was in Ireland is not yet owt of her Ma^{ties} hedde, although, in deede, I am hable to prove that the same was begonne before that attempting of my sutes there, or my arryvall into that lande; and gladde I am that it was not my happe to bee there at this present, least I might, in like sorte, have byn vntruely chardged with this rebellion also; and yet, although that lande is at this present (as yo^r L. knowethe) very moche vnquieted, my people of Odrone remayne still verry good subiectes, not one of them (to my knowledge) startyng forth; offering to fulfill, thoroughly, whatsoever they promysed vnto me at my being there, whiche is an argument and figure that they are well contented with my self and my doinges also. I crave nothing at her Ma^{ties} handes, but onely hir highnes gracious favour & good countenance in my iuste and righteous causes. I am well hable to prove that I lost in Quene Maryes tyme eighte thousand poundes in value at the least, & syns, in this her highnes reigne, (whom God longe preserve) I have solde for her service CCC markes landes, and now, lastly, not to be permitted to haue the benefite of a poore subiecte, I protest vnto your good L. I must needs thynke my self the most vnfortunate man lyvyng, beinge suche a corrosye vnto my harte as yet never heretofore I receaved the like in all my dayes. But to be bolde to trouble your L. with my symple opynion concerning those perswasions that ar made, why our countremen should not bee permitted to inhabite within that lande, surely hir Ma^{tie} shall never bee thoroughly knowen there so longe as hir owne lawes ar not currant, & hir owne sworde bee not the mynister of iustice, & those Regali ar vnder Kinges not suffered to have thadministra-
cion of lawes & iustice at their willes & pleasure. Thus I am bolde to trouble your L. with my opynion herein. As

concerning my titles in Monster, I have digested the same into certen articles hereinclosed, humbly submittyng my self & my sutes vnto hir highnes gracious pleasure & your honours good consideracions of me, being nowe well growen in yeres, vnto whome the losse of a litle tyme is moche, having followed these sutes already by the space of three yeres here, & ij yeres in Ireland. And so acknowledging my self alwayes bound vnto your L. for your sundry curtesies, with humble thankes & like comendacions doo ende.

No. 25.

Petition and offers of Peter Carew, Knight.

Yf it shall please the Quenes Ma^{tie} to licence me to pass into Ireland with hir highnes good favour and countenance for following of my titles within the counties of Corke, Lymerike, & Kyrrye, being within Monster, then I offer as followeth: ffirst—if I doo not setle and place one thousand of Englishmen within the said counties before mychelmas nexte shalbe twelvemoneth I will forfeite vnto hir Ma^{tie} all the titles and interest that I ought to have within the said three counties.

Also, if any rebellion, for my cause, shall happen within the said three counties by the Irisherye, without ayde of forren power, I, during my lief, to suppress the same with the ayde of my friendes at my own costes & chardges, or els the like forfeiture to bee made as is expressed in the former article, whiche I will not leave for any one mans possessions in Ireland, so as I may have hir highnes favour & lawe withall.

No. 26.

*By the Quene.*¹

Trustie and welbeloved we grete you well. It is not long sithence we wrote vnto you a lre in the behalfe of Sr Peter Carew, touching a sute of his to be discharged of Cesse in his Baronye of Odron, with the which we also sent you certain orders vpon that matter, deliberated by our Counsell here, and by them subscribed, to thend that the same shoulde be considered of by you and our Counsell there, and so to be decreed as should be most indifferent and conveyent for our service. ffor the endinge and perfectinge of which cause, and also for the better ymployinge and settinge of his landes that he hath alredie recouered to his best comoditie, he hath byn a verie earnest sutor vnto vs for our licence to come ouer into that Realme for the followinge of his said cause, and albeyt we conceve so well of hym for sundrie respectes as we be lothe to denye hym anie thinge resonable that may tourne to his comoditie or advantage, yet, vppon consideracions of our service otherwaies, we have thought yt more mete to staye hym here for a tyme, But yet with suche favorable meaninge towards hym in his said baronye as we wishe and so require you that his absence maye be supplied accordinge to equitie by your carefull aydinge and asistinge of suche as he shall send ouer and put in truste aboute the same, wherein we heare not yet what order you have agreed vppon. Our meaninge is that with as good expedicion as you maye you shall substanciallie consider thereof with our Counsell in that Realme, and whether you shall agree vppon anye of those orders sent

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

from hence, or shall devise anye other that shalbe more indifferent, whatsoeuer shalbe in that sorte best liked of, wee require you that it maye be soo decreed and the same to be delyvared vnto suche as S^r Peter Carew shall send ouer, confirmed vnder our great seale of that Realme to be established in perpetuite, that therevppon his substitutes maye bergaine with his tenauntes, in certentie, accordinge to that decree. And where by his absence from thence yt is borne him in hand that his tenauntes in his Baronye of Odron wilbe the more vnwillinge to take anye estates of suche as he shall send ouer for that purpose, you shall cause yt to be signified amongst them that his staie from thence hath byn by our commaundement for some respectes of service, and that you be willed from vs bothe to asiste his said Officers & otherwise to have care to see his tenauntes to be well vsed, to enioye their estates, & to be defended in their rightfull causes. And these our lres shalbe vnto you and our chancelors there, sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Geven vnder our signet at our Manour of Grenewiche the xiiijth of March 1572, in the xvth yere of our Reign.

Indorsed,

*Sir P Carew M. in March
1572.*

*To the L. Deputy in Ireland,
in favo^r of S^r Petre Carewes sute there.*

No. 27.

*The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council.*¹

It maie please your Lordshippes, whereas my verie good freend, Sr Peter Carewe tooke a painefull Journey with me into theis partes, and heare hath chargeable contynued, bothe in maintenaunce of men and hospitalitie, and executed the office of Marshall since his comynge, I have nowe at length perswaded him to repaire into the englishe pale for two causes, the one for his infirmitie, havinge greate paine in one of his legges, nor like to be recouered heere in this cold cuntry, where also the office which he executed is more painefull then is meete for his yeares; the other for that I vnderstoode by suche gentlemen as repaired vnto me out of the pale, that his landes in Idrone were greatlie wastid, partlie by the O'mores which border vppon it, But chieffie by the contencions of the constables of laungham and Caterloughe, for whose private quarells the tennauntes are greatlie oppressed, and because some of the Cavenaighins wrote hither for his repaire into theis partes I consented the rather thervnto for the other respectes; Neverthelesse he hath made me firme promes that he will not passe those boundes, nor deale with his Mounster titells vnlesse it be by Composition. And yet it seemethe by suche as haue bene doocrs in the Searche of recordes here that his auncestors haue bene possessed of great thinges in those partes, whose titells he claymithe by due dissent of inheritaunce. Yf it might please your Hs. to woorke

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Correspondence.

hereafter that he may make some proffitt by exchange or otherwise, it were a benefitt well employed vppon a seruant of so longe contynuaunce, and a gentleman of so good deseartes, in whose roome I haue appointed William Morgan of penycoide, whome I finde verie able for the place, and of boddie and mynde verie apt for the warres; and so recommendinge them bothe to your lordeshippes good favors I take my leave. At Knockefergus this second of November 1573.

At your L. Comaundm^t

W. ESSEX.

No. 28.

*Mr. Edmund Tremayne to Lord Burleigh.*¹

After my bounden duetie most humblie remembred vnto your good L. Receiving this inclosed letter from Sr P. Carewe, whils this messenger was with me, I haue thought it verie mete to send the same to your L. by him, to thentent your L. mought vnderstand the state of that countrey by the report of him whom you knowe to be of good iudgement. And therevppon, according to your good disposicon in such cases, to procure such redresse as maie be given with good oportunitie.

Wisshinge Sr Petre's well doing in all thinges (as for sundrie respectes I haue good cause) I advised him to excuse himself to Mr Secretarie, who in speche to miself vttered his misliking conceived of him as thauthor to persuade therle of Essex to incroche vppon his confines of the Ardes. Likewise I did persuade him to be an

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Correspondence.

instrument to holde good suritie betwixt the L. Deputie and therle, not with (out) some occasion gathered by me of such as came over in to this realme instrumentes for therle, vpon which parte of my writing your L. maie perceiue what answere he maketh.

This countrey bringeth not forth any other matter fitte for your L., and, therefore, I will not longer trouble you. But moste humblie desiring that I maie all waies depend vpon your favour, and by your L. good meanes to be settled with hir Ma^{tes} good favour to liue in this my native countrey, I prairie God to prosper you according to your heartes desire. ffrom my poore house at Colocumb the vjth of March 1573.

Yo^r L. most bounden at

Comaundement

E. TREMAYNE.

*To the right honorable my verie
speciall good L., the L. Thre'
of England.*

No. 29.

Sir Peter Carew to Mr Edmund Tremayne.¹

My good Cossen. I have receved your seuerall letters, the one of the vijth of November and the other of the xxvijth of December, for the which, as also for your good aduer-

¹ Mr. Edmund Tremayne, Clerk of the Council, 2nd son of Thomas Tremayne, of Collacombe, Co. Devon. He married Ulalia, daughter of Sir John St. Leger, of Annery, and widow of Tristram Arscot. See note 3, p. 55; see also note 1, p. 180, and note 3, p. 204.

² State Paper Office. Irish Correspondence.

tisements therein, I give you moste hartie thanckes ; and I beinge one whoe beholdinge the miserable estate of this cunterie, which is like more and more to fall vnto ruyru withoute some spedie redresse, doo lament yt verie muche, and for that yt shoulde not seme tedious vnto you I have made a brefetie thereof.

No countie with in this Realme but is greatlie wasted, and also in the Inglish pale, nor but verie few subjectes stand assured of anye thinge they presentlie enioye, nor the poore husbandmen able to receve the frutes of their travell.

And as for Mounstir, whereas S^r John Parrot left yt in better case then yt hath byn in longe tyme before by the meanes of mynisteringe the sworde and Justice, the onclie waye to redresse this Realme, but since his departure therle of Desmond¹ and his followers hath begon to make a new chainge, and surelie the matters were pretended before hand, as by the causes before his comynge into that cunterie, at his comynge, and since his beinge there, shoulde appeare.

James ffitzmorris, before his² breakinge of prison, and

¹ The Earl of Desmond and his brother John, after a captivity of six years in England, were permitted to return to Ireland. John was allowed to proceed at once to Munster, but the Earl was detained in Dublin ; and having promised upon his oath to be faithful to her Majesty, was, by the Lord Deputy, put under the charge of the Mayor of Dublin, who was ordered to provide him with good accommodation, and to permit him to go about, upon his parole, to return at noon and night. Desmond, however, broke his engagement, and on St. Patrick's day escaped into his own country. He was soon surrounded by a large body of his followers, and not long afterwards commenced an attack upon the English, who were soon expelled from Munster. Kenry, a barony in the north of the County of Limerick, with its Castles of Ballymartyr (now called Castlemartyr and Castlemain), fell into his hands. In the following year, however, he was obliged to make his submission, and voluntarily surrendered those places, together with Dungarvon, unto the Queen.

² The Earl of Desmond's.

since the departure of the L. president, went into Conworthe¹ (*sic*) and made frendship with therle of Claury-cardes sonnes which were in controversie.

He hath sent his sonne with one David Wolf,² an arrant traitor, into Spaine to practise his olde devises.

John of Desmond hath byn in Conworthe (*sic*) in like case, and talked with dyvers of the nobilitie there, and also in Mounstir.

The Seneshall of Imokellie, one of his folloers, even vppon his comynge hath taken a castle of the Quenes called Ballymarter, in the charge of Mr. Barkley.³

Therles servauntes hath taken certaine castles which Mr Bowser⁴ had in charge, also now vppon Christmas even last he hath taken Castle Mange,⁵ vnder Mr Harbert.

All those persons before named he not onelie ymbraces at this presente, but also whereas Mr. Garalt, as you knowe, was sent ouer by commyssion, whoe, with Mr. Davells and

¹ Connaught.

² Sir Davy Wolf (a priest, not a knight), of whom it is stated in a letter in the State Paper Office, indorsed, as having been received on the 13th October, 1572: "He that foreswore himself and fled from Dublin, is gone to Spain, and carried the son of James Fitzmaurice with him, accompanied by Sir Rice Corbally."

³ Captain Edward Barkly arrived in Ireland with 200 footmen from Somersetshire, to serve under Essex, in September, 1573. He was blamed by Sir John Perrot for the loss of Ballymartyr. We find him Constable of Askeaton in 1587. It is questionable whether Barkly was not an assumed name. In one of his letters in the State Paper Office, dated 14th May, 1574, Burghley has written over his signature "Francis Brokhowse."

⁴ Sir George Bouchier, second son of the Earl of Bath. He was an active and distinguished officer. We find that the Earl of Desmond, in March, 1573-4, was required to deliver up Ballymartyr and other castles to him. In the following year he was a prisoner with the Earl. He was knighted by Sir William Drury not long before his death. In 1580 he was left Colonel of Munster, and in 1585 the government of Maryborough was divided between him and Sir Warham St. Leger.

⁵ Castlemain.

others, went to parle with hym, and beinge within xij myles of them requested that defferringe of tyme might be had till the last of Januarie, vntill suche tyme as he had talked with therle of Clanrycarde, aswell for the which causes, as the causes aforesaid, and now, lastlie, these presumpcions, as I am enformed, he hath sent his messengers abroade to Turlalynno,¹ the Connors, huicke Mc Shane,² Rorehoge Omore,³ and other outlawes to stand firme. I doo beleve, therefore, whatsoever shalbe sent ouer, yf hir Ma^{tie} doo not prevent yt with spede yt will grow to some mischief.

Conworthe (*sic*) stands in as yll termes as yt did, and rather worse. Therle of Clanrycarde hym self beinge altogether wickedlie bent, for his men hath not onely taken a prairie from Galwaye, but, he hym self, hath stayed the corne which should have come to the use of the towne, by which meanes the people are in great perplexitie, and he not onelie contynuallie kepes these malefactors aboute hym, beinge his owne seruauntes, but also,

¹ Tyrlogh Lynogh O'Neill.

² Hugh M'Shane O'Birne, of the sept of Ranalogh. Sir George Carew in a note on the MS. Pedigree in the Lambeth Library, (vol. 635, fol. 18.) says: "Of all the septs of the Obirnes, this sept of the Ranaloghe is the worst and basest, but of late years they haue bene of greatest power, and evermore in rebellion."

³ Rory Oge O'More, the son of Rory Caech, son of Connel O'More. Rory Caech submitted himself to King Henry VIII., and surrendered his lands, receiving them back again, as appears by his indenture of covenant, dated 14th August, Anno 34th Henry VIII. Rory Oge married a daughter of Hugh McShane, of the Ranalogh. He was killed in rebellion in 1579, by Brian Oge, son of Brian McGilpatrick. The "Four Masters" say that this Rory was the head of the plunderers and insurgents of the men of Ireland in his time, and for a long time after his death no one was desirous to discharge one shot against the soldiers of the Crown." (vol. v., p. 1707.) His son Owen McRory was slain in rebellion in 1600.

where one of his men did slaye one of the townsmen he since hath marryed his wife.

The Countie of Dublin is not onelie robbed and spoiled by huick McShanes sonnes and folloers, but also by certaine of the Clandonells galliglasse, even to the verie gates of Dublin.

Therle of Kildare hath taken vpon hym to banyshe all the kerne oute of Offalia, and hath vj^s kerne in paye to accomplishe the same, and the rather, as yt is thought, hoping to have the fforte there in his owne custodium, which, if he possesse, therle of Ormond, the next yere, will give the like enterprise for Lease and the fforte there; then judge you how those counteries wilbe gouerned when no Englishman is amongst them, yet, neuertheles, Earles be dangerous men to be delt with here, therefore I prairie kepe yt to your self, but yf the noblemen of this Cunterie wolde put to their assistinge handes, yt wolde not be as yt is now, nor the Quenes Matie at such charges.

Therle of Essex is now lyinge vpon the borders of his gouernement at Tredaff for that the same might be well ordered, some plague hath happened amongst his men at Knockfergus, whereof I am right sorrie. Sr Bryan,¹ by

¹ Sir Brian, the son of Felim Baccagh O'Neil, Lord of Clannaboy. He was a man of great power, and is reported to have possessed 30,000 cows, besides other cattle. (Cox, vol. i., p. 341.) On the first arrival of the Earl of Essex, Sir Brian received him courteously, and tendered his duty to the Queen and service to Essex. Upon discovering, however, that the Earl had received a grant of his patrimonial possession, as was natural, he became disaffected, but, in the year 1574, peace was restored, which was to be celebrated by a solemn feast to be given by Sir Brian to the Earl and his followers. Three days and nights were passed in carousal, at the end of which time Essex caused Brian, his brother, and his wife, to be treacherously seized, and all Brian's people, without regard to age or sex, unsparingly put

this tyme, is come in with all his Create; Odonell¹ and Conodonell² stand fyrm, and have offered that whensoever his L. will put hym self to the felde they will com to the bandes side.

And now lastlie Tirlalynno hath desired peace till suche

to the sword in his own presence. Brian was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother, where they were cut into quarters. Atrocity like this, and that mentioned in note 3, p. 230, could not fail to excite the abhorrence of all the Irish people. Sir Brian married, first, a daughter of Sir Arthur Magennis, Viscount Iveagh; and, secondly, Anne daughter of Brian Carragh O'Neill, and was succeeded by his eldest son John, who died in 1619. This John was the common ancestor of the Viscount O'Neill, in whom the elder branch of the family became extinct in 1855, and Mr. Hugh O'Neill, a respectable farmer of Ballymoney, in the County of Down, who, according to Dr. O'Donovan, is the present representative of Sir Brien McFelim and of all the Kinnel-Owen.

¹ Sir Hugh O'Donnell, son of Manus, Lord of Tirconnell, by Joan, his 2nd wife, sister of Con O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, succeeded his brother Calvagh as Lord of Tirconnell in 1566. He was knighted by Sir Henry Sydney at Ballyloughry in 1567. Becoming old and feeble, he resigned the Chieftainship to Hugh Roe, his son. The "Four Masters" describe him as a valiant and warlike man, and victorious in his fights and battles, both before and during his Chieftainship, and as being the preyer and plunderer of the territories, both far and near, that were bound to obey him, asserting the right of his tribe from them until he made them obedient unto him. (Vol. vi., p. 2219.) Sir Hugh O'Donnell died on 7th December, 1600, and was buried in the monastery of St. Francis in Donegal.

² Con O'Donnell, son of Calvagh, son of Manus. On the death of his father he was deprived of the Chieftainship by his uncle, Sir Hugh. Consequently a feud always existed between them. Con married a daughter of Turlough Lynogh O'Neill, and died 1583. He is described as an accomplished and truly hospitable man, sedate and affable, and the supporting pillar of the literati and kerns; a man who spent much of his wealth in the purchase of poems and panegyrics; so that after his death Tirconnell might have been likened to a harp without *ceis* (base string), to a ship without a pilot, or to a field without shelter.

tyme as his messenger maye goo to the Quenes Ma^{tie} and returne againe.

I am of this opynnyon that yff his L. hath not taken this noble enterprise in hand for the subduynge of that state, which withoute anye doubt, by godes helpe, is like to come to good passe and prosperous successe, this realme had byn in worsere state then yt is at this presente, for trulye that hath byn the onelye staye; my L. deputy hath, as well as he may for want of forces, salved vp all those matters, which is all together but patched wares, and onles hir Ma^{tie} doo send some spedie redresse Judge you the certantie of this estate.

for my owne Cunterie, by the meanes of M^r Davells with suche forces as he kept vppon yt, I found yt, althought not so well as I wolde wishe yet amongst a great manye yll the quietest, and the people to lyve orderlie. At my firste comynge pledges was put in to me of euerie sept for the quietinge thereof, and now collaterall bandes of certain freholders that no damage nor hurte shalbe done therein. I am now about to sett yt & doo not doubt but to make a verie good rent thereof.

I understand by your last letter that M^r Smyth¹ hath great jelowsie of me, the like opynnyon he had at my beinge in England, but trulie withoute cause, for I have allwayes, to my vttermost, furthered his causes to his best profit, as muche as the others, yet he maye thincke of me as he pleases; for the other cause betwene the L. deputie and my Lo. of Essex yt is altogether but brutes, & nothinge so apparant. Thus, beinge right glad to heare of the good recouerie of my L. Threasurer, desiringe you to pleasure M^r Davells in anye thinge you maye, whoe

¹ Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State.

nowe is cominge over, with my right hartie commendacions, I end. from Dublin this vjth of ffebruarie 1573.

Yours assuredlie

P CAREW

*To the right worshipfull
and my verie lovinge
Cossen M^r Edmund Tre-
mayne, one of the Clarkes
of the Quenes Ma^{ty}
privie Counsell, at the
Courte.*

No. 30.

The Queen to Sir Peter Carew.¹

Trusty & welbeloved we grete you well. Consideryng the great zeale and noble courage of our Cowsyn therle of Essex towards our service and the reducyng of the provynce of Ulster to dew obedience and good order, We fyend no greater lack then of such a freend and assistant vnto hym as you are, both for your experience, wisdom, and courage, & for the good will which he hath allwaie bore to you and you to hym; Of whose good Cownsell and advice our said Cowsyn should not onely at all tymes receive great comfort, as of a very trew & deare freend vnto him, But also aide and assistaunce when occasion or nede shall require it; which many tymes doth fortune in dowtfull tymes of warres & martiall attempts: And, therefore, our will and pleasure is that both for our said Cowsyns aide and comfort, & for the fortheraunce of our service, you do make your repaire to hym with as conve-

¹ State Paper Office, Irish Correspondence.

nyent speed as you may. ffor the easying of your charges our Cownsell hath thought mete that yow shall have the name & enterteynement of his lieutenant, with xx horsemen in pay, & ferther the charge of either horsmen or fotemen.

Indorsed,

*xij Ap: 1575. M. To Sr Peter
Carew, Knight. entred.*

No. 31.

————— to Lord Deputy Sydney.¹

After my verie hartly comendacions vnto your good L. We haue here bad newes, to the great greif of many, of the death of good Sr Peter Carewe, a gent. in the opinion of all men of such rare vertue and singuler good partes as is seldom to be founde in these our daies; our losse is thereby the greter, but he in better state then we can wishe him. Vppon these newes verie erneste suite hath bene made here for the establishinge & maynteyninge of his cousen Peter, (whome he hathe made his heire to his landes in that Realme) in the Baronye of Hidron, and for so muche as it is given to vnderstand that the same shall hardlie be kepte vnless he haue also her Ma^{tes} Castle of Langhelyn in kepinge, as Sr Peter had, the saide suit tendethe to make meanes to your L. (in whome the disposition of the same is) that he may haue the grante thereof, & be placed there accordinglie. Your L. favor to that good name hathe allwaies bene noted, and Sr Peter, in that suite, did finde the frutes thereof to his great benefitt & comfort, and so is the same acknowledged by his nerest

¹ State Paper Office. Irish Cor.

frendes, and therevpon the greater hope is conceaved that your L. will maynteine in his succession the same favor & goodness. And for so muche as I have lerned that the vppholdinge of a trustie and trewe Englisheman in those partes shall stand muche to thadvancement of her Mat^{tes} service, as well in repressing of the Irisherye as for other good purposes better knowne to you then to me, I am moved, emonge the reste of the frendes to that name, (that in so many ages are witnessed to have bene good servauntes to this Crowne) to be an intercessor vnto your L. that it may like you to show him so muche favor as you may, as well by placinge of him as aforesaid as by aidinge and assistinge him with suche persons of advice and Counsell in the practises of the Realme as are most metest to hold him in his strength for the keping of him in his inheritance, and therewithall to hold that Cuntrey in good obedience, to the furtherance of her Mat^{tes} service. And as your L. hereby shall show good allowance of the title adiudged by you and her Mat^{tes} Counsell of that Realme, so shall you deserve for ever the love and good will of all that kynredd. And whatsoever you shall do for my sake, & for the intercession of other of his frendes, you shall finde vs readie to requite you with any pleasure we can show you. And so I bidd your good L. right hartelie ffarewell. ffrom Windesor the ixth of December 1575.

Indorsed,

1575.

*To the L. Deputie to establish
and maynteine in the Baronie
of Hydrone, w^{ch} Sr Peter
Carewe had, his nephewe Peter
Carewe.*

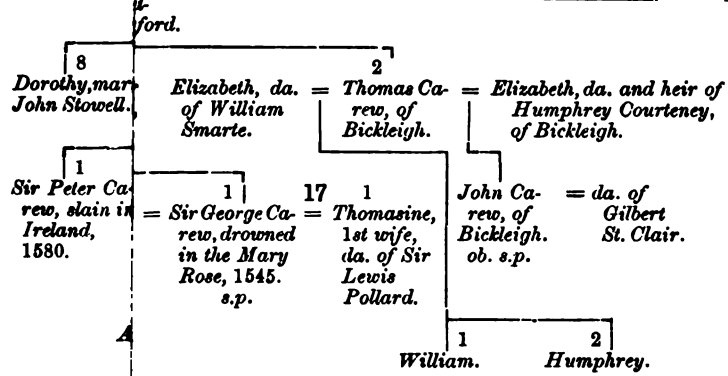
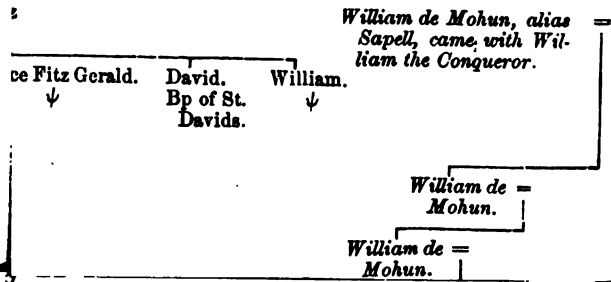
APPENDIX I.

THE annexed Pedigree of the Carew family, to which reference is made in the note on page 1, together with the notes, so far as printed in Roman characters, is transcribed from Lamb. MSS. 635, fol. 42; and it agrees, exactly, with that recorded in the Herald's College (C 1, 26). Further investigation, however, since the note referred to was printed, has shewn that the first four generations, as recorded, cannot be sustained; for it is clearly proved by the Charter Roll of the 14th of King John, confirming to William de Carrio the grant of the Manor of Mulesford made to his ancestor by King Henry I., that the Carews are descended, not from Adam de Montgomery, but from Walter de Windsor.

This Charter may be thus translated: John, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Normandy, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Barons, Justices, &c., &c., Health. Know ye that we have given, and by this our Charter have confirmed to William de Carrio, the Manor of Mulesford with its appurtenances, which King Henry, the grandfather of King Henry our father, gave to Gerald Fitz Walter, the grandfather of Odo, the father of the aforesaid William de Carrio, To hold to the said William and his heirs, from us and our heirs, by the service of one Knight. Wherefore we will and command that the said William and his heirs, do have and do hold of us and our heirs, the Manor of Mulesford aforesaid, with all its appurtenances, well and in peace, freely, in quiet, and wholly, as is aforesaid. Witnesses: William de Gray, our Chancellor; S. Earl of Winton; William Briwer; William de Cantelupe, our Seneschal; William, Archdeacon of Huntingdon. Given by the hands of Master Richard de Marisco, Archdeacon of Northumberland, at Westminster, the 25th day of May, in the 14th year of our reign.* This Charter establishes in a most remarkable manner the five first descents of this family, and confirms, in this particular, a MS. pedigree in the possession of Mr. Pole Carew, of Antony, drawn up by Anstis, Garter King-at-Arms. This latter pedigree overthrows the alleged marriage with a daughter of Fitz Stephen, and deduces the descent of the Munster lands from Raymond De Carrio, uncle of William the above-named grantee of Mulesford, whom Robert Fitz Stephen, his uncle, made his heir. This descent is shewn in the Pedigree No. 2. The remainder of the Pedigree, in italics, has been compiled from several other MS. Pedigrees, and is, we believe, correct.

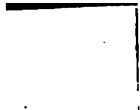
* King John also confirmed to William de Carrio his house of Carrio, with the lands which he had on the day on which the King last came to Pembroke (in May or June, 1210) to go into Ireland. See Patent Rolls, 14th John, 1212.

No. I.

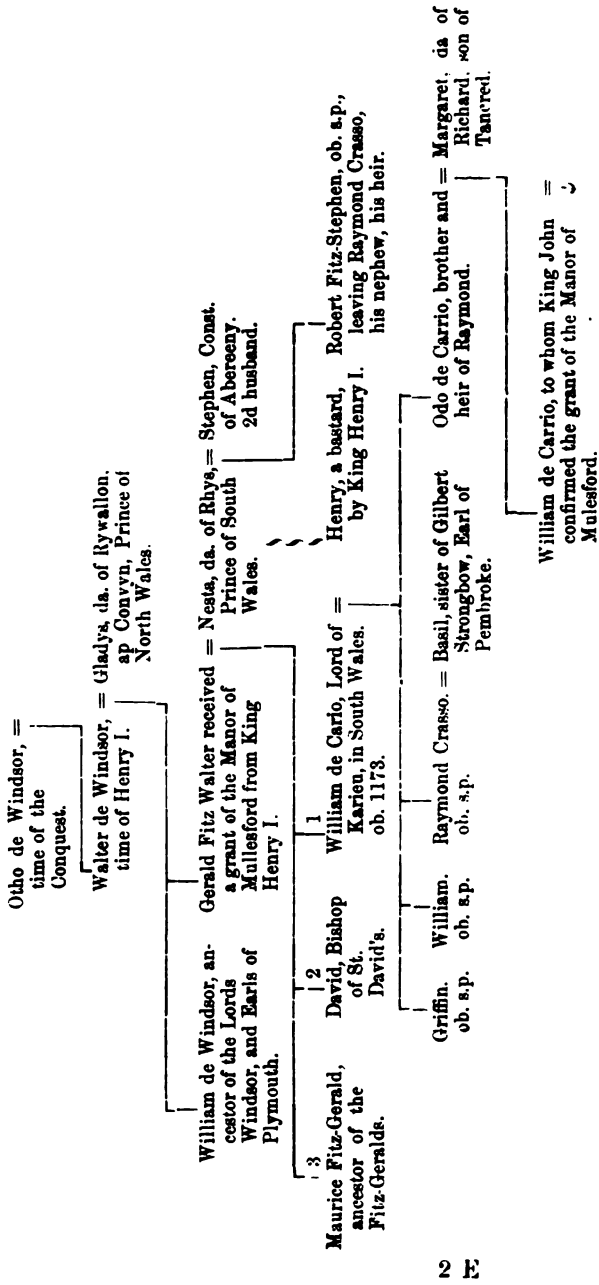


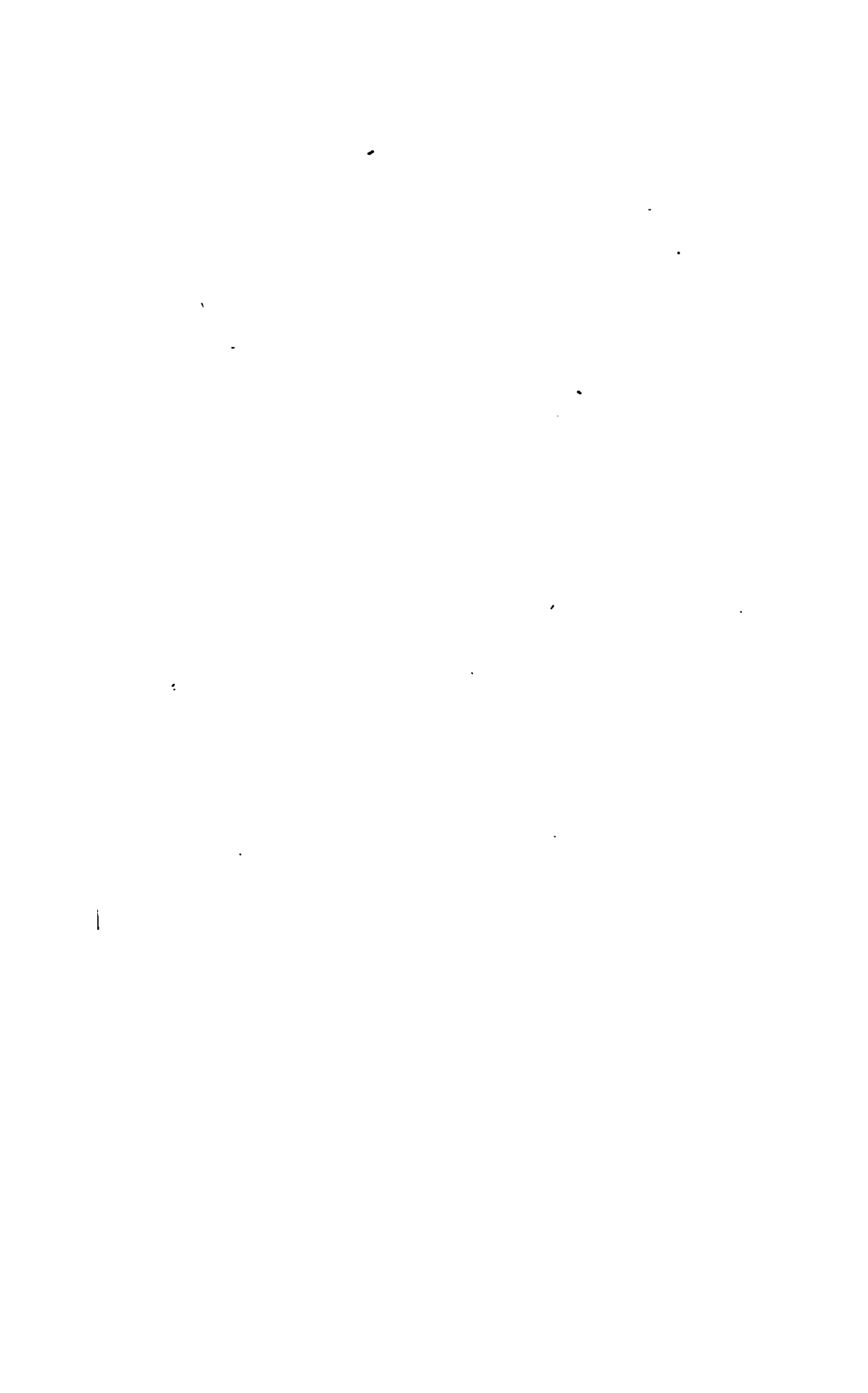
* The said Thomasine was seized and possessed of the landes w^{ch} in the province of Ulster descended by the said Thomasine, and sergeantships, as appeareth by several recordes and enheritance. The said banner was the last that had any proffitt of his landes in Ireland, for the dewe for the same, for the mooste parte, driven thence and overcome by the Irishrie, of King Henry the first. The commission was directed to the Eschetor of Catherlough and Morice, behind yt was founde that the said landes in Catherlough were kept good servit. further the Exchetor of Corke had commandement to take into the record the said Johns in that countie during the minoritie of the heire. further, who Qu. Phillip his wife the wardship of the said heire, and the Thomasine, did send a wryt to the Exchetor not to entermeddle there-nevertheles by processe out of the Exchequer there to answer for the yt, recouered his land and was discharged; as appereth by the said recordes. did hold the said land in ann^o 1340.

of his auncle, conveyed his lands by order of lawe to his brother, John, enjoyn- Magno and his mother, quartered with his own.—Herald's College, C. I. 26.



PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF CAREW.—No. II.





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